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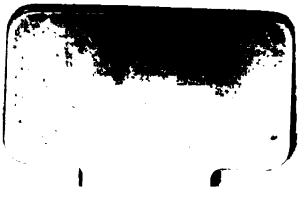

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The entry "~~The~~ Rev. J. Maughan" on the titlepage is in the handwriting of Chancellor Ferguson, and is therefore authoritative.

R. G. Collingwood

# MURAL CONTROVERSY.

## The Question,

## "WHO BUILT THE ROMAN WALL?"

ILLUSTRATED.

BY

A CUMBRIAN.

Rev J Maughan.

TO WHICH IS APPENDED

## A REPLY TO DR. BRUCE'S TWO PAPERS

ON THE

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SECOND EDITION.

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Addendum.

REPLY TO DR. BRUCE.

# MURAL CONTROVERSY:

## THE QUESTION—"WHO BUILT THE ROMAN WALL?"

### SECTION 1.—INTRODUCTION.

In November, 1852, an "HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ROMAN WALL," a work of considerable literary merit, was published by the Rev. Dr. Bruce, "One of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne."

The volume is a dumpy octavo, contains a large amount of statistical knowledge, and is printed in a nice old-woman's type. Its lively style, and graphic manner of treating the subject, sometimes render it highly interesting and important. It carries the witness within itself of the Doctor's zealous labours in exploring every point of "the mural region"—more especially the eastern portion of it, which was contiguous to the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway, and which was rendered easy of access through the liberality of the Directors, who gave the Doctor a free ticket for his excursions. The description, generally, is of a very comprehensive character; the narrative is carefully constructed; and, through the kind assistance and valuable contributions of many residents in the vicinity of the barrier, the work is replete with agreeable details. Successive changes of story are introduced with almost dramatic rapidity, and form picturesque groupings which render it attractive to persons acquainted with the scenes and places described therein. Through the munificent liberality of His Grace the Duke of Northumberland, and other generous friends and patrons who have shared in the cost, it is illustrated with numerous engravings, which appear to have been prepared with care and accuracy, and which present the reader with a faithful and correct idea of the present appearance of this "great military

structure." It is but the merest justice to artist, lithographer, engraver, publisher, and author, to bear this pleasing and grateful testimony to the value of the magnificent result of their combined efforts.

There appears, however, to be one drawback from the value of the work. The learned Doctor has permitted his imagination to be warped out of the proper track by a new-fangled theory, which, in the "plenitude" of of his pride, he styles "THE ÆLIAN HYPOTHESIS." The Doctor *apparently* thinks, and *assuredly* tries to persuade his readers, that the wall was originally built by Hadrian, and not by Severus, as has been generally stated and believed; and he seizes upon every opportunity to introduce this great discovery. The volume, with prefaces, embraces 474 pages, and of these nearly *one hundred* (i. e. about one-fifth part of the work) are devoted to the diffusion of this new dogma: thus proving that whatever may be the real and candid opinions of the author on the subject, he has shown the utmost zeal in attempting to insert the point of his Hadrian wedge into the rich mine of human credulity.

If Dr. Bruce had only managed to steer his book clear of the rocks and shoals of this controversy, his flag might have been floating now, and for future ages, on one of the highest pinnacles of the Temple of History. But, alas for all human aspirations! The spectres of wasted time and misappropriated talents are the only ones that await the Doctor at Philippi. "Notoriety is easily earned, but it is not always of an enviable character,"—says Dr. Bruce, page 65 of "The Roman Wall." We would merely add—pen, ink, and paper, are of all betrayers the most subtle and the most dangerous. They certainly wear the very look of purity and innocence, and to all outward appearance are the most harmless things imaginable, and yet with their aid how soon may the best and the cleverest men spatter blots on their own reputation, and stitch the winding-sheet for their own self-slain honour and happiness!

In July, 1852, (at the time when the Doctor's work was in the hands of the publisher) a short but ably-written pamphlet issued from the pen of the late Mr. Robert Bell, of The Nook, Irthington, in which, in a clear, calm, dignified, argumentative, and well-digested manner, he attempted to "substantiate the claims of Severus to the authorship of the Roman Wall." This pamphlet appears to have been got up with much care, and jealous supervision every way. It bears marks of patient labour, extensive research, indefatigable inquiry, collective reading, and much actual literary toil. The style is singularly racy and terse, manly

and vigorous, and neither abusive nor acrimonious. The subject is handled with ability and tact. The work evinces the author's freedom from prejudices, and its execution exhibits the deep intuitions of a gifted mind. The excursive thoughts of the speculative theorist are corrected by the cautious observations of the practical thinker.

We have a steady conviction that the publication of an historical and controversial work ought to be a solemn act of the conscience, and we feel bound, in justice to Mr. Bell, to think that he executed his task with a due regard to sincerity and truth, exhibiting a strength of consistency, and a power of long-reaching forethought—and always bearing in mind that there is a wide difference between substantial fact and pretentious fudge, and that "out of nothing, nothing comes."

In December of the same year (1852), at least such are the dates given in the respective productions, Dr. Bruce, in the spirit of "aut Cæsar, aut nullus," launched forth what he designates "A TRACTATE," with the view of drawing the teeth and paring the claws of Mr. Bell.

The Doctor evidently wishes himself to be considered a victim, as dragged forth much against his will by a challenge received from Mr. Bell. The Doctor says—"In the view of the world of letters Mr. Bell has thrown down his gage, and I must take it up."....."No one who is acquainted with all the circumstances of the case can for a moment doubt that on me this duty peculiarly devolves." This, however, is nothing more than mere assumption on the Doctor's part—a mere excuse for the issuing of "The Tractate." In Mr. Bell's pamphlet there is no allusion whatever to Dr. Bruce as a person whom he was wishing to challenge to a tilt in mural controversy, and not the least trace of an intended provocation on the part of Mr. Bell. The Doctor, however, starts pelting him with a right good will, and with almost as much real effect as if he were whipping a fellow in armour.

Although this Tractate is by no means a work of small pretensions, yet its style is full of hazy logic, and confused nebulous notions; and reminds us of one of Don Quixote's tilts at the windmills. Its matter is upon the whole, rather chaotic, and sometimes even volcanic. It is characterized by a mixture of sophistry, audacious insolence of tone and manner, an utter disregard of the common conventionalities of place and position, and is too full of offensive personalities. It is peculiarly remarkable for the warmth of temper which the Doctor exhibits in maintaining his "Ælian

Hypothesis,"—for some passages in which he *forgets his own former statements*, and either carelessly or wilfully *contradicts them;* and for the attacks which he makes upon Mr. Bell, although he acknowledges that he had previously "had much friendly intercourse with him," and although he had previously received much valuable assistance and information from him while preparing his history of the Roman Wall.

With the view of convincing and saving trouble to our readers on this point, we may present them with a few specimens of the Doctor's caustic remarks on Mr. Bell. He styles him ironically "the Antiquary of Irthington"—he calls him a "bold rebuker,"—he charges him with "committing an oversight"—he describes him as "jumping at conclusions with agility"—he speaks of him as "incredulous on some points, but keeping the balance true by being easy of belief on others"—and he taunts him with "usual inaccuracy," and the "incautious way in which he usually reasons." These extracts are given in their naked deformity, and Dr. Bruce must not grumble if, in these illustrations, he gets a splash now and then from his own batter.

Glad, however, (says the Doctor,) should I have been if our contests had been confined to an occasional tilt at his fireside or my own." This, we may observe, looks rather like as if the Doctor felt a lurking consciousness that his Hadrian theory still required something to keep it snug and warm. Such hole-and-corner hobbing and nobbing might probably have suited the Doctor very well, for then Mr. Bell's arguments, however forcible and weighty they might have been, would necessarily have perished with their utterance, and the Doctor would never have been troubled with even the ghost of them in his "mural haunts," nor would he so "often have heard Mr. Bell's statements urged in opposition to the views which he says he *believes to be correct.*" Such, however, was not the arena on which Mr. Bell chose to tilt. Mr. Bell was a man who could afford to maintain his own convictions, and was not to be cajoled, or flattered, or patronized, or talked down to, or in any way seduced to aid the influences of a perverse ambition. He had a loathing of "oily gammon" of every form and colour.

Having been born and brought up at no great distance from this great barrier—having from earliest youth heard the wall always spoken of as the Wall of Severus, and the earthworks as the work of Hadrian—and having been accustomed so to regard these great results of Roman labour and skill, we trust we may be pardoned for presuming to offer a few

observations on the respective publications to which we have alluded. Although reference will occasionally be made to each of the three above-mentioned works, yet our remarks will be more especially confined to "The Tractate," as being least in harmony with our own early-imbibed impressions.

We speak of course always under correction when we venture to give an opinion—but we cannot refrain from looking with contempt on all theories, of whatever sort they may profess to be. We have a pious horror of all projectings of "isms," and all propoundings of "systems," and every species and guise of "hypothesis." We are deliberately suspicious of what are called "new-fangled notions"; and we are very decidedly of opinion that "fine words butter no parsnips." Dr. Bruce must not growl, if in the course of his experience he happens to discover that a controversial career is by no means a path of roses.

## Section 2.—Hadrian and Severus Compared.

The Doctor commences his onslaught on "the Antiquary of Irthington" by a species of sophistry commonly called "begging the question." He endeavours to awaken the emotional sentiments and sympathies of his readers on behalf of his favourite Hadrian by describing him (Tractate p. 2) as the "mighty Hadrian in the noontide of his age, and the plenitude of the empire's strength": and he elsewhere describes him as "one of Rome's greatest generals," who "left the impress of his mighty mind behind him"—and in another passage he styles him "the presiding genius of the wall." On the other hand he refers to Severus as "aged and gouty"*—"harassed in the ebbing moments of his life, and amidst the

* Has Doctor Bruce any valid grounds for calling Severus—"gouty"? Herodian tells us (Lib. 3, c. 14,) that when he set out for Britain he was labouring under a disease which he calls—"ἀρθρίτιδος—ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρθρίτιδος νόσου κάμνων"—or as the MS. Bavarus reads it, ἀρθροίτιδος. Now, have we any reason to say from this that he was affected with the gout? The word "arthritidos" simply means a disease of the joints, and, for any thing we know to the contrary, Severus might be suffering from a stiff or dislocated joint, or any other of the diseases with which the joints are often affected. The word "podagra" was generally used to signify what is meant by the gout of the present day. If Severus was really affected with gout, it would seem that the gout of the ancients must have been something very different from the gout of the moderns—the gout of the Roman must have been of a much milder character than the gout of the Briton. Ask any person of the present day who is writhing under the tortures of the gout if any thing could tempt him to set

distractions of a declining empire." With a tremendous and a superb sweep he would dethrone him from his traditional predominance, minimize him into the position of zero, and whirl him into an emphatic nobody. "*Was it likely,*" (says the Doctor) "that Severus would build the wall before he went on his Scottish expedition, seeing he had resolved upon the complete subjugation of the Caledonians? *Was it likely* that he could spare troops to undertake this labour, whilst engaged in a contest which cost him three years† and fifty thousand men? *And was it likely,* when he returned from Scotland, broken-hearted and in a dying state, that he could plan so great a work as the wall?"

In the same way the Doctor might apply fifty, or five hundred, questions, either to Severus, or "the mighty Hadrian," or any other person, without producing any direct result as to the main question in dispute.

Before we proceed further in this intricate inquiry, it may be well to consider with due deliberation the characters of these two Emperors, and see how the race goes with the "likelies" then.

Hadrian is generally represented as a man devoted to literary pursuits, and more especially the study of the Greek Authors, although we do not find that he was ever characterized by abilities and talents of a high order. Having much of the Arab of the desert in his temperament he passed the greatest part of his reign in travelling through the various parts of the empire, and was fond of holding disputations with the learned men in the cities which he visited. He left memorials of his travels in a numerous and interesting series of medals which were struck in the several provinces on the occasion of his visit, none of which represent the building of the wall, although, as Dr. Bruce informs us (Roman Wall, p. 9), his *mere arrival* in Britain was thought an event of sufficient importance to be

out on a journey to Rome with all the modern accommodations and comforts of travelling; and yet we find Severus of his own free will, and (as Herodian tells us) with pleasure, setting out in a litter, accomplishing a journey to Britain, and carrying on a war in person for three years, during which he must have visited a great part of Scotland. Is there, we may fairly ask, any thing like a gouty man in this achievement?

† Dion Cassius (Lib. 76, ch. 13) tells us that Severus at the end of the first year's campaign compelled them to submit to a treaty of peace, and it is evident that this peace lasted from this time, *i.e.* the year 208, to the year 210, when Severus again marched into Scotland. How then can Dr. Bruce call it *a contest of three years?*

commemorated in the currency of the empire. He employed a great part of his time in settling disputes and complaints, reforming abuses, drawing up military constitutions and laws for restoring discipline among the legions which had become relaxed. He lived as a soldier among the soldiers. He courted public favour by bathing among the common people, and other acts of familiar and condescending behaviour. He presided at the public games—and in the festivals of Bacchus, &c., he appeared in the robes of an archon, distributed money and corn to the people,—and in various ways sought popularity by acts of liberality and munificence. *Not long before he visited Britain he remitted the whole arrears* which were due to the public treasury, not only in Rome itself, but throughout the whole of Italy, and all that was due from the provinces for sixteen years past. He repaired, embellished, and rebuilt magnificent palaces, museums, temples, and other edifices, either in honour of Venus, or some other goddess, or some favourite female. He rebuilt at his own expense towns which had been destroyed, especially one in Bithynia, for which he was styled on the medals "the restorer of Bithynia." We have no record however of his building propensities till some time after his visit to Britain. Some of the last years of his life were passed in a state of mental aberration, which was caused by excessive grief for a favourite boy named Antinous.

Such being the most remarkable features in Hadrian's character, where, we may ask, are we to look for the dazzling records of this "mighty Hadrian's" military abilities or daring courage? Where are the details of his personal prowess, his devoted valour, his fearless actions in the field of carnage, where the noblest impulses of the hero have their exposition, win our respect, and demand our admiration?

Hadrian might not be craven-hearted, but he never stood at the head of his cohorts. He was too fond of ease and pleasure; his time was absorbed in trifles, and he was continually longing to exchange palled luxury for excitement. Indolence and indulgence appear to have been his evil genii.

It would require a very bold flight of the imagination before we could conceive Hadrian to be a warrior, for his reign was one of almost uninterrupted peace. The only instances in which he was engaged in active warfare were against the Parthians, the Jews, and the inhabitants of Britain. With the Parthians he soon concluded a peace, but whether it was from the effects of fear is not sufficiently apparent. The insurrection of the Jews spread in spite of the "mighty Hadrian," and he was obliged to send for his best general (Julius Severus) from Britain to carry on the

war against them, which lasted three years, during which period it is said five hundred thousand Jews were slain. As for the war in Britain it is at least doubtful whether it can be considered worthy of the name of a war or not.

As a proof of Hadrian's want of military prowess in Britain we cannot do better than quote Dr. Bruce's own statements respecting him. In his great work on the Roman Wall, p. 9, he speaks of him as follows:—"Affairs in Britain had fallen into such confusion as to require the presence of the Emperor Hadrian—*he did not attempt to regain the conquests which Agricola had made in Scotland, but prudently sought to make the line of forts which that General had constructed in his second campaign the limit of his Empire.*" Now we could not with any due regard to reason and propriety require any stronger proof than this passage to convince us that the "mighty Hadrian" could not be "one of Rome's greatest generals." The man who *did not attempt to regain* what had been lost, but *prudently sought* to make Agricola's forts *the limits of his Empire*, can scarcely be deemed "one of Rome's greatest generals." In our opinion he manifested a wretched incompetency to guide the destinies of Rome in such a crisis. It is quite clear from Dr. Bruce's own words, that the provinces which had been conquered by Agricola *had been lost, and that Hadrian's prudence* thought it best for them to continue so. "Discretion is the better part of valour."

"He that fights and runs away,
May live to fight another day."

Such are the leading attributes which we generally find ascribed by historians to the "mighty Hadrian." Let us now look at the character usually given to Severus. We find him, almost universally, described as a model of arrangement and forethought—a man of bold measures, and crushing everything before him—of ambitious mind, and intolerant of an inactive life. He was one of the hard-handed sons of toil, exhibiting rare perseverance under discouragements and difficulties, and capable of enduring the most severe and most complicated hardships. He was a hero of the most splendid military talents, and generally considered the most warlike of the Roman emperors. From childhood he manifested an iron character which nothing could shake. He fought and won many obstinate battles, conquered several nations, and reduced them under the Roman power. In his old age, and with bodily infirmities upon him, he entered upon his journey into Britain, as Herodian tells us, with juvenile

briskness and courage, and performed it with great expedition; and, as Dion Cassius reports, acquired "a prodigious mass of riches in Britain."* In short, he was just such a man as we might fancy likely to choose out "the projecting rocks," "the craggy precipices," and "the boldest elevations" which would command a view of the adjacent country in every direction.

Adopting, then, the catechetical mode of arguing practised by Dr. Bruce, we may put the question thus—*whether was it more likely* that Hadrian during his short sojourn in Britain would throw up the earthen ramparts which have been ascribed to him, and which might be speedily effected by the mere conversion of his soldiers into a body of sappers and miners, these soldiers not being engaged in real military operations in consequence of *the extreme prudence* of the "mighty Hadrian,"—or, that he would build "the great barrier" which the Doctor elsewhere tells us would necessarily be a work of several years? *Was it likely* that he would plan it while occupied in studying the Greek orators and poets? *Was it likely* that he could execute so vast a work while hunting out, and holding disputations with, the learned men, or indulging in his favourite pastime of bathing with the soldiers, and presiding at the public games? *Was it likely* that after impoverishing the public treasury to so great an extent before his arrival in Britain he would be able to pay the immense cost of such a wall? *Was it likely* that he would either plan or execute it while he was so unmanfully affected for his boy Antinous? *Was it likely* that he would ever contemplate or prosecute such a work while building magnificent temples for the goddess of love? Or, *was it at all likely* that a man who lived, and made others live, as if the world were a mere may-fair pageant—as if business were but a fancy-bazaar—as if time was made but that time might be killed in one long-continued year of jubilee,—*was it likely*, we may again say, that such a man would disturb his imperturbable serenity by the toils and troubles and annoyances attending such a work? The questions—*was it likely?*—might, in fact, be carried out to any length of absurdity without proving one single fact either for or against the Doctor's theory.

* Dion Cassius, lib. 73, ch. 15, describes Severus as a man endowed with a sagacious mind, having a quick foresight of future events, and a power of managing the present with the greatest safety—able to investigate the most abstruse things as if they were open and manifest; and to execute the most difficult work just as if it was one of the most easy. Dr. Bruce speaks of Dion Cassius, in "The Tractate," as an "eminent author," and appears to place great confidence in him as an authority. He must therefore allow whatever Dion Cassius says in favour of Severus.

Taking, however, the general characters of the two Emperors as our guide, and forming our judgment therefrom, we are led to the conviction that this "vast line of military operation" was *more likely* to be the result of the bold conceptions, the indefatigable enterprise, and "the prodigious mass of riches" of Severus, than of "the mighty Hadrian," notwithstanding that he possessed (as Dr. Bruce magniloquently announces) the astonishing advantages of the "noontide of his age and the plenitude of the empire's strength."

If we look to the coins which were struck by the imperial government relating to this country, (and this is only taking a leaf from Dr. Bruce's own book,) we find proofs of the comparative estimation in which the two Emperors were held by the Romans themselves. Dr. Bruce tells us that five coins were struck for Hadrian, while we believe that twice that number was struck in honour of Severus. At page 10 of "The Roman Wall" the Doctor gives a fac-simile of one of Hadrian, in which Britannia is represented sitting in a very composed manner with her shield and her spear beside her, as if conscious and proud of her ability to maintain her ground against the Romans under "the mighty Hadrian"; while at page 15 he gives a fac-simile of a coin of Severus, in which the Britons are represented as captives of that Emperor, whom Dr. Bruce calls "the ferocious African." We believe we are correct in stating that the Empire ordered not less than three hundred coins or medals to be struck in honour of Severus, and the members of his family; and that *eighty* of these were for the Emperor himself. Can Dr. Bruce produce any thing equal to this in favour of "the mighty Hadrian"?

## Section 3.—Object of the Wall.

Before proceeding farther with our illustrations it may be as well to inquire what was the purpose for which this great wall was at first built; and in ascertaining this point we cannot do better, perhaps, than refer to the statements of those who have favoured us with their opinions on this subject.

Spartian is one of the earliest authors who mention this great wall. Speaking of the Wall of Hadrian he says that it was "to divide the barbarians and the Romans." From this passage, then, it would

seem that the purpose of *Hadrian's Wall* was simply to be a divisional or boundary line between these two parties. Nothing whatever is said from which we can infer that it was intended to be a line of defence or protection from a foe, either on the northern or the southern side.

Spartian also informs us that *Severus built a wall* across the island, but does not assign any reason why it was built. In one passage in the life of Severus he speaks of it as a "murus apud vallum," that is, "a wall near a rampart," or, in other words, "a *stone* wall near a *turf* wall," according to the meaning to which the words *murus* and *vallum* are limited by Dr. Bruce : but he says nothing whatever as to the object of it, or the purpose for which it was built.

Eutropius speaks of the Wall of Severus, and tells us that it was made "to fortify the recovered provinces with every security"—and Paulus Diaconus assigns to it the same object.

Cassiodorus tells us that the Wall of Severus was made "to render the recovered provinces more secure from barbarian incursion."

These are the only reasons given by the ancient historians for the building of the wall. Let us now see what Dr. Bruce, the great modern historian of the walls, says on this subject. At page 9 of his preface to "The Roman Wall" he says:—"The lines of the barrier are the scheme of one great military engineer. The Romans, *in the days of Hadrian, laid their hands broadly and firmly* upon the northern part of England.* In doing so, they did not relinquish the prospect of conquering what was beyond it.† They evidently regarded it as but a step to that measure; and when Lollius Urbicus reared the Antonine Wall, he was but carrying out *the plans of Antonine's prædecessor.*‡ The Wall of Hadrian was not a fence, such as that by which we prevent

* In another passage Dr. Bruce tells us that it was Agricola who secured this part, and that Hadrian merely *prudently* retained it.

† Elsewhere Dr. Bruce says that Hadrian did not attempt to regain what was beyond the wall, but *prudently* sought to make the wall *the limit of his empire.*

‡ This predecessor was Hadrian, but Dr. Bruce states in another place that this Hadrian *prudently sought to make the wall the limit of his empire,* and consequently could have no such plans. Such contradictory statements are scarcely such as ought to come from a correct historian.

the straying of cattle: it was a line of military operation, similar in its nature to the works which Wellington raised at Torres Vedras. A broad belt of country was firmly secured."

Now, if "the lines of the barrier" were intended to secure the *northern part of England*, on which the Romans had laid their hands so broadly and firmly, (as the learned Doctor tells us,) of what possible use could the earthen ramparts be in this great scheme, or what extent of lands could they secure which the stone wall itself would not have secured with equal efficiency; or why were they not made farther to the south, along the southern side of these lands in *the northern part of England*, if the Romans dreaded a foe to start up from the southern part of England. If a man were inclosing an allotment of common with fences he would surely never place the fence which was to guard the southern boundary close along the northern edge and close to the northern fence of the said allotment. The earthen ramparts, in their present position, were clearly unnecessary for such a purpose as is assigned by Dr. Bruce, and were a useless and wasteful expenditure of time and money.

Again, the Doctor says that "a broad belt of country was firmly secured." Does he mean the land enclosed between the wall and the vallum? If so—then we think that the belt was not a very broad one, and in general estimation will not be so considered. In fact it is a mere strip, the two works in some places approaching close to each other. If, however, he means more than was enclosed between the wall and the vallum, can he show us how the vallum was of any use in enclosing what was beyond it? Coopers are not in the habit of fixing the hoops on the inside of the cask.

As to the similarity between "the lines of the barrier," and the works at Torres Vedras, it may be all very well to lug such things into a book by way of making an impression, but we believe that if the works were strictly compared there would be found just about as much similarity between them as there is between the song of the lark and the chirp of the cock-sparrow.

At page 13 of his preface Doctor Bruce, perhaps dissatisfied with his former reason for the building of the wall, takes nearly the same view of the subject as Cassiodorus: he says that "in former times it protected

southern Britain from the ravages of the northern tribes." At pages 10 and 33 he gives nearly a similar reason for the wall. In these passages he forgets the southern foe altogether. Under this view of the great design of the barrier the vallum seems to be of no more importance than a little bantam in bloomers setting itself up to patronize and defend a game-cock.

At page 187, however, we find Dr. Bruce jumping round, and taking quite a contrary view of the case—but we feel that we must give his own words in this instance to ensure the credibility of our readers. He says—"It was probably regarded by the Romans as a line of military operation—a work under cover of which they could conveniently marshal their forces for aggressive warfare, or recover their order in case of temporary surprise."

And was it really come to this!! Were the Roman soldiers such chicken-hearted fellows under "the mighty Hadrian"—"one of Rome's greatest generals"—that they durst not marshal their cohorts unless they had a high stone wall to shelter them! Was "the mighty Hadrian" so far fallen that he durst not turn out of his stations, or strongholds, unless he had the cover of a high stone wall on the one side, and three earthen ramparts on the other side! His courage must have been of the Bob Acres kind! And what can Dr. Bruce mean by the words "aggressive warfare," when he had elsewhere told us that Hadrian *prudently* sought to make the lines of the barrier the limit of his empire?

If Hadrian, on his arrival in Britain, gave up all idea of regaining what had been lost, as Dr. Bruce has stated, then it is very evident that Hadrian never could have any intention of *marshalling his forces for aggressive warfare*, and consequently that "the one comprehensive mind" of Hadrian could never contemplate such an object if he were the author of these two stupendous structures. Dr. Bruce must have thought his readers very destitute of common sense when he ventured to gull them with such flummery!

The object of the wall is a question on which the Doctor's mind appears to have as many phases as the moon. At page 168 he takes another view of it. "If the Romans (says he) were to keep watch and ward here during the winter, a wall was necessary, even though only for the sake of sheltering them from the blast." It is almost impossible to refrain from classing this among the puerilities of a fanciful imagination, and it is

equally impossible to reduce the mind to the necessary degree of seriousness to ask the question, whether the same, or as good a shelter could not have been procured for those poor shivering Romans by earthen ramparts as by a costly stone wall—or by a row of props with a few thin slabs nailed from prop to prop, with wooden sentry-boxes placed at proper intervals, such as the cozy old watchmen were indulged with in former days.

The last quotation with which we shall venture to trouble our readers on this subject is from page 55, where Dr. Bruce presents us with another view of the object of the wall. He there tells us that—"both vallum and wall were subsidiary to the military way, and that *the chief use of these structures was to guard the road, and to protect and conceal from view, both on the north and south, the troops that marched along it.*"

Now if this were really the case, how did it happen that none of the other Roman roads in Britain were protected by a stone wall on the one side, and an earthen rampart on the other—and more especially those roads which crossed the wall, and penetrated much farther into the country of the northern enemy? What protection had the troops of "the mighty Hadrian" when marching along these other roads? If the Roman soldiers were so timid as to require such protection on their march they can scarcely be considered fit for the invasion of a country like Britain.

If "the Ælian Hypothesis" require a puff from so many points of the compass to keep it afloat, the sooner it is abandoned the better!

## Section 4.—Time Occupied in Building the Wall.

At page 8 of his "Tractate," Dr. Bruce clenches his category of "likelies" with a statement which is rather a staggerer, for he tells us that "the wall must have occupied several years in building." In his preface he lays it down as an axiom—"truth generally results from discussion." Let us therefore apply the Doctor's probe to his own statement.

From a careful collation of ancient historians who have left us any records of Hadrian we have every reason to conclude that *he never was in*

*Britain more than once,* and that he could not possibly be in Britain *more than a few months at the most,* while Severus was probably here as many years or more. If this were the case, then, how could Hadrian be the builder of the wall—where could he find the requisite time for such a purpose?

In the same year in which he visited Britain, we find that he was in Italy—then in Germany—then in Gaul—*then in Britain*—again in Gaul—and then in Spain, where he wintered. From this digest of his wanderings in that year it must be evident to every unprejudiced mind that he could not have spent much time in Britain, and yet Dr. Bruce tells us, and wishes us to believe, not only that he built the wall, but that it must have "occupied several years in building"; which appears to be a great absurdity.

Dr. Bruce, in his "Roman Wall," p. 24, tells us that "a work so bold in its designs, so skilfully planned, and involving so much labour in its execution, cannot have been the result of the expiring "energies of Rome in Britain." Neither, we may venture to affirm, could it be the result of the flying visit of Hadrian. Besides, if we look at the great success of Severus, we see nothing like the "expiring energies," which Dr. Bruce mentions. At every step it was—"See the conquering hero comes."

The Doctor's statement cannot be considered a hasty or unpremeditated one, for at page 75 of the "Roman Wall" we find the Doctor, (after an elaborate calculation of all the circumstances, aided by data from Mr. Rawlinson, Inspector of the Board of Health,) deliberately asserting that the works of the wall and vallum would occupy *ten thousand men for ten years.* The Doctor, however, appears somewhat muddled in his calculations, for he first calculates that *ten thousand men might with continuous labour* execute all the works connected with both wall and vallum in *about two years and a-half*—and then, making allowances for bad weather, etc., he jumps at the conclusion that *ten years* would be the shortest time in which they could be completed. The conclusion proves that Hadrian, however "mighty" he might be, could have nothing to do with the whole of the works, as he was never in Britain but once, and that for a very short time.

Before quitting this subject we may venture to view it by another light. Dr. Bruce is of opinion that the works were the result of forced

labour under the Roman taskmaster, and that the labourers were "*compelled to support themselves as best they might.*" Where is the Doctor's authority for this statement? And how could they labour if they had to look out for the means of their own subsistence? How long would they be in devouring all the provisions within a reasonable distance, and how would they be able to obtain those that were more remote? How long, under such circumstances, would they be able to keep their bodies in a condition fit for such arduous labour? These are questions which may perhaps baffle the Doctor's ingenuity in calculations. The horrors of the Crimea were all a moonshine compared with this!

Mr. Rawlinson says that the works were constructed by rude and uneducated men, captive natives brought in by the Romans at the sword's point, and compelled to toil under the armed superintendence and teaching of the soldier. This hypothesis may be allowed to pass, as we know of no data for confirming or contradicting it, but we know not where Mr. Rawlinson's authority for such a sweeping statement is to be found.

Dr. Bruce says, "The largest number of men that we can conceive to be brought to bear at once upon the wall, including such of the Roman troops as could be spared from military operations, *is ten thousand*," and he shows that these ten thousand could complete the works of the wall, without the vallum, with continuous labour, in rather more than two years. Now ten thousand men might be the greatest number that could be spared in the days of Hadrian, but in the time of Severus it might be otherwise. We read that in his attempt to subjugate Scotland, Severus lost *fifty thousand men;* and we may infer that, if he could afford the loss of so many soldiers and still maintain his position, he must have had a much larger number of men with him, probably not less than four or five times the number. Herodian says that "he had gathered a very great force together when he made ready for the war." And we may infer that the natives were very numerous from their ability (according to the Doctor's calculations) to raise the amazing number of two hundred and fifty thousand fighting men in the reign of Nero—not long before the time of Hadrian.

Suppose, then, that Severus set ten thousand of his own troops to superintend thirty thousand of the captives and other natives, we have a force of forty thousand, who would be able, according to Dr. Bruce's data, by continuous labour, *to finish the work in six months.*

We do not mean to affirm that it was actually completed in any such time. We merely wish to show how, by taking the Doctor's calculations as our data, the thing was within the verge of possibility, and that there is no necessity for allowing so long a time as ten years for the accomplishment of such an undertaking.

Herodian tells us that Severus was—"*νοῆσαί τε ὀξὺς, καὶ τὸ νοηθὲν ἐπιτελέσαι ταχύς*,"—i. e., prompt in forming his resolutions, and quick in their execution: and if so, we need not look upon the thing as any way very impossible. Herodian is styled by Dr. Bruce (Tractate, p. 15) an "eminent historian," and so is Dion Cassius. From Dion Cassius we may perhaps borrow a little more light on this subject. If we refer to Book 76, chap. 13, we find Severus setting out on his expedition into Scotland, A. D. 208,—penetrating to the remotest part of the island, and compelling the inhabitants to relinquish, by a treaty, a large part of their country to him. From this year to the year 210 Dion does not mention any proceedings of Severus against the Britons, during which time we may suppose that peace prevailed according to the terms of the treaty, and that this was not an unlikely period for Severus to be occupied in the construction of the "great barrier."

## Section 5.—Roman Policy in Britain.

We have already had occasion to refer more than once to Dr. Bruce's own works and words, and we feel ourselves placed under the necessity of doing so again—not in any spirit of malevolence, or hypercriticism, but because we wish others to judge for themselves—to balance probabilities and conflicting statements, and see what inferences are fairly deducible from existing data. All is not gold that glitters; and many strange things are detected under the microscope which may have escaped the keenest observation of the eye before.

Dr. Bruce, in the first paragraph of the "Tractate," argues thus,—"The question who built the wall is not one of words merely. It bears strongly on the principles and policy of the Roman rule in Britain." He then gives the popular view of the works, which ascribes the earthen ramparts to Hadrian, and the stone wall to Severus, and he adds—"If this be a true history of the lower barrier, Roman policy in Britain was a feeble thing—a system of shifts and expedients—and altogether destitute of forethought, energy, and power." He then concludes the paragraph

with the following parachute—"Conceive, however, the wall with its murus and vallum, with its stations, castles, turrets, and roads, to be one great design, the work of one comprehensive mind, making provision for the attacks of treacherous allies, and open foes, and we entertain a thought worthy of Rome, we contemplate a policy which by its decision must have been an effectual and a merciful one, and fully accounts for the thorough and complete hold* which the Romans for centuries maintained of this district of the country."

Now we are quite prepared to admit that the above is a specimen of very fine writing; and, being the first paragraph of the "Tractate," it was probably meant as a stunner: but we are by no means prepared to adopt all the conceptions with which Dr. Bruce wishes to overpower us. For instance, we cannot make out what he means by the expression—"Conceive the wall with its murus and vallum," for we never heard of more than one stone wall—*or of a wall with its murus!* This, we presume, must be regarded as simply a pleonasm arising from the exuberant fertility of the Doctor's imagination. We cannot conceive upon what authority he uses the term "treacherous allies," as we do not find from ancient historians that it was built as a defence against them; nor do we find any such people spoken of. We cannot see the propriety of the words "the wall with *its* stations," as we have always understood the stations to have been built by Agricola before the wall was thought of. In fact, Dr. Bruce tells us so (page 7 of his "Roman Wall"), for he says that Agricola placed garrisons and fortresses here, and consequently if Agricola did so, then the stations must have been standing here long before the construction of the wall either by Hadrian or Severus. The expression—"wall with its stations"—is therefore neither more nor less than an unwarrantable obliquity of diction—and is somewhat achronical, if we may venture to use such a word.

Let us now proceed to consider what is the nature and extent of this Roman policy in Britain which Dr. Bruce hoists on such very high stilts, and by which he expects to substantiate his "Ælian Hypothesis." On this subject we cannot do better than refer again to Dr. Bruce as our authority—an authority which we may reasonably expect will not be "cavilled at," or called in question, by himself at least.

* What does Dr. Bruce mean by this *thorough and complete hold?* He has elsewhere told us that in the time of Hadrian the conquests of Agricola had been lost, and that even "the mighty Hadrian" durst not venture to attempt to regain them!!

Dr. Bruce designates the first chapter of "The Roman Wall," "an epitome of the History of Roman occupation in Britain." It is a well-written and attractive compendium; and in a tiny note at the bottom of the second page he acknowledges himself *largely indebted* for this epitome to the "Britannia Romana" of Horsley,—a writer of the most unquestionable authority. From this epitome by Dr. Bruce we shall venture to make a few extracts, and from it to construct another and a shorter, to which proceeding we hope the Doctor will not raise any objection. When a person has got a good principle he ought to be permited to go on with it; and the Doctor can have no reasonable objections to a bit of a rub now and then on his own whetstones. The following extracts, then, from the excellent epitome with which the Doctor favours us with will serve to show, in its true colours, what is the real nature of this vaunted "policy of the Roman rule in Britain."

Dr. Bruce says—"That renowned conqueror (Julius Cæsar) landed in Britain with a force of ten thousand men. Both on that occasion, and in a second attempt, which, with a larger force he made the year following, he met with a warm reception from the savage islanders. Great Julius bade a final farewell, without erecting any fortresses, or leaving any troops to secure his conquests." The great Julius therefore did not evince any great strength of Roman rule in Britain!

"During the reigns of Augustus, Tiberius, and Caligula, Britain was unmolested by foreign invasion." The Romans had probably found out that British policy was equal to their own!

"Claudius resolved to attempt the reduction of the island. It was with difficulty the troops could be induced to engage in the undertaking. The fears of the soldiery were not without foundation. The Britons, though their inferiors in discipline, were not behind them in valour and spirit." Does this passage prove that the Roman rule was any thing very extraordinary at that time in Britain?

"Ostorius Scapula, A.D. 50, succeeded to the command in Britain. The brave Silures, headed by Caractacus, rendered his progress slow and bloody. Ostorius at length sank under the harassing nature of his duties." So—*Roman policy* was here at a discount!

"In the reign of Nero, Roman affairs in Britain received a severe check. The Iceni, led on by their enraged queen, Boadicea, threw off

the yoke, and attacked the principal stations of the enemy. London fell upon the first assault, and Verulam shared the same fate. Seventy thousand Romans, or adherents of the government of Rome, fell under her hands." Here we have the boasted policy of the Roman Emperor yielding to the superior policy of a woman!—and succumbing under British pluck!! Pshaw!—such policy!

"During the remainder of the reign of Nero, and the short rule of his successors, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius, no advance was made in the conquest of Britain." The Roman policy was in the shade!

"One hundred and thirty years had now elapsed since the first descent of Cæsar,—and yet but a fraction of the Island was in subjection to Roman power." The Roman power consequently can have been nothing to boast of! It certainly had never got the steam up!!

The Doctor then makes some long quotations from Tacitus respecting the progress of Agricola, from which we take the following extracts, which give us information how the Roman policy began to get a footing over the inhabitants of Britain, after such a signal failure of the prowess of their arms.

"He began by checking and regulating the affairs of his own household, correcting the abuses that had crept into the army, promoting impartially those who deserved it; while, at the same time, he redressed the grievances of the inhabitants, made an equitable distribution of the public burthens, and abolished all hurtful monopolies. By the prosecution of means so salutary as these, six months had scarcely elapsed, when affairs in Britain were entirely changed, and assumed a bright and settled aspect. By this wise and prudent conduct, several communities, which till then had maintained their independence, submitted to the Romans, gave hostages, and suffered garrisons and fortresses to be placed among them. These strongholds he established with such judgment as effectually secured all those parts of Britain which had then been visited by the Romans. The following winter was employed in civilizing and polishing the rude inhabitants.....By degrees the customs, manners, and dress of their conquerors, became familiar to them: they acquired a taste for a life of inactivity and ease, and at length were caught by the charms and incitements of luxury and vice. By such as judged from their external appearance only, all this was styled politeness and humanity, while, in reality, Agricola was enslaving them, and imperceptibly rivetting their

chains." This passage gives us a true insight into the real nature of the policy of the Romans in the time of Agricola!

Dr. Bruce goes on to say—"In the seventh summer Agricola was recalled, and as his successors were not men of the same vigour as himself the barbarians were in a condition at least to dispute the pretensions of their conquerors." Here the little moon of Roman policy is on the wane!

"Thirty-five years after the recall of Agricola—affairs in Britain had *fallen into such confusion* as to require the presence of the Emperor Hadrian. *He did not attempt* to regain the conquests which Agricola had made in Scotland, *but prudently sought* to make the line of forts* which that general had constructed in his second campaign the limit of his Empire." Here the moon of Roman rule in Britain is only showing the smallest point of her horns!!

Now, these extracts are fairly and impartially made, and embrace the whole pith of what is contained in the Doctor's epitome in respect to the military prowess and policy of the Romans in Britain, and where, we may very naturally ask, do they furnish any proofs of any greatness in the *principles or the policy of the Roman Rule in Britain?* During the 133 years before Agricola, what was it but a "weak and a feeble thing, destitute of forethought, energy, and power"? And after that the subtle Agricola came over, what was it but a system of shifts and expedients"?—even during the invasion of "the mighty Hadrian" who—although he was "in the noontide of his age and the plenitude of the Empire's strength"—no sooner saw the foe than he began to raise ramparts that he might crouch and skulk behind them! If this is not "feebleness itself," we may ask what is.

Let us now see how the Doctor further illustrates this policy and prowess during the time which intervened between the reigns of Hadrian and Severus. The testimony is the Doctor's own, and for this occasion at least must be as good as can be reasonably required by him.

"Lollius Urbicus (says he) was not satisfied with the limits which Hadrian had *prudently assigned* to the Empire in Britain. Forcing back

* This line of forts must therefore have been made before the wall itself was thought of.

the Britons, he raised an earthen rampart between the Forth and the Clyde." The boasted policy of Hadrian is at once condemned!

"The remaining history of the Romans, on the northern frontier of England, is fraught with disaster. The tide of war sometimes broke upon the northern and sometimes on the southern boundary: but its roar and its devastation ceased not until the Roman intruder had been driven altogether from the island."

"Marcus Antoninus was far from enjoying the tranquillity which the northern rampart was expected to give. He was obliged to carry on very troublesome wars with the Britons, and with much difficulty kept them in check."

"In the reign of Commodus the Britons broke through the wall which separated them from the Roman province, killed the general, ruined the army, and, in their ravages, carried every thing before them."

Such, as the Doctor himself informs us, was the state of the policy and military prowess of the Romans in Britain when Severus came to the island. We now quit this subject under an impression that Dr. Bruce will be apt to find some of his own nuts rather hard to crack. For our own part we can see no ground for boasting either of the policy or the prowess of the Romans in Britain. Many generations of their warriors had passed away, one after the other, in the vain attempt to subjugate the island, and still we find the Britons (as the Doctor says) "carrying every thing before them." Fortunate perhaps would it have been for Dr. Bruce if he had carefully syringed the little cubby-holes of his memory, and cleared them from the dust and cobwebs—or taken another and a better peep under what he calls "the curtain of British History" before he commenced the composition of his astounding "Tractate."

## Section 6.—Chain of Forts.

When Tacitus penned the passage to which we alluded in the preceding section, in which he informs us that Agricola placed fortresses and garrisons among the Britons in his second campaign, and which passage Dr. Bruce applies to the Lower Isthmus,—i. e., between the Tyne and the Solway,—Tacitus little thought, in all probability, that it would become the subject of opposing interpretations from one and the same commentator.

Although the Doctor has so markedly applied this passage to the Lower Isthmus, yet when the "bold rebuker of Irthington" adopted the same views of it, and drew inferences from it as substantiating the claims of Severus, the Doctor immediately wheels round, jumps with agility at an opposite conclusion, and attempts to show that the passage does not admit of that application.

On looking at page 31 of the "Tractate" we find the Doctor objecting to "the Antiquary of Irthington" stretching "*a chain of forts*" across the Isthmus, having probably totally forgotten that he himself had previously stretched "*a line of forts*" across the same place: for at page 9 of "The Roman Wall" he speaks of the "line of forts" constructed by Agricola in his second campaign, and applies the said line to "the mural region." Whether the Doctor considers that a *line* would be more easily stretched across than a *chain;* or whether he has some more abstruse meaning, we know not—but this we do know, that we cannot perceive any substantial difference between the two expressions; and, moreover, we are of opinion that the Doctor had no sufficient grounds, here at least, to "make a cavil" at the language used by "the Antiquary of Irthington." At page 45 of "The Roman Wall" the Doctor himself distinctly tells us that the stations near the wall "*may have been members of Agricola's chain of forts.*" And at page 289 he states that "a triple *line of fortresses* was opposed to the enemy";—but these passages were written *before* Mr. Bell's pamphlet was published, and the Doctor had probably forgotten all about them.

At the same page of the "Tractate" the Doctor presents to us one of *his own corrected and literal* translations of the passage quoted from Tacitus, and then—although he had previously told us that it applied to the Lower Isthmus—he tells us that its application is so comprehensive that it extends over the six northern counties of England. What!—the Lower Isthmus extend over the six northern counties of England!! Schoolboys, in their geographical lessons, are generally taught that an isthmus is a narrow neck of land connecting two continents. Does Dr. Bruce mean to say that the narrow neck of land between the estuaries of the Tyne and the Eden comprehends *the six northern counties of England?* Dr. Bruce is really too far north for us this time! He might just as well tell us that the Isthmus of Darien extends over six of the Southern States of North America! Where is the schoolmaster to be found who would not reward with a most bountiful thrashing the constituents of his geographical class, if, in the "plenitude" of their

wisdom, they announced to him that Lancaster, Liverpool, Manchester, Bolton, Bury, Leeds, Doncaster, Hull, and York, were all, or any of them, to be found in the isthmus between the mouth of the Tyne and the Solway!

We do not wish to be understood as expressing any opinion of our own by these observations as to the precise locality to which the passage from Tacitus ought to be restricted. We merely wish to convey to our readers our impression that Dr. Bruce has an engine from which he can blow hot or cold, just as he likes.

## Section 7.—Gelt Quarries.

At page 2 of the "Tractate" Dr. Bruce says—"The question cannot be answered by an appeal to fitness and probability but by an actual examination of the works themselves, of the inscriptions found upon them, and of the ancient writers who describe them." Let us therefore proceed with the Doctor to view the "Lions" of the Gelt, whose lights and shadows afford another extensive range for the genius of contradiction.

Dr. Bruce, at page 64 of "The Roman Wall," informs us that the Gelt Quarries are "*the most remarkable of this class of antiquities*" *in furnishing materials for the wall,* and he grounds his statement on the authority of an inscription which is to be found on the face of one of the rocks, which is generally allowed to be of Roman origin, and which has not been effaced in the sixteen centuries during which it has been exposed to the corroding tooth of time—thus affording a silent but important testimony to the value and durability of the stone, and consequently to the *probability* that it would be used by the Romans. In other parts of his work on the Roman Wall Dr. Bruce makes similar statements, to which we shall refer more particularly hereafter.

Mr. Bell, in his pamphlet, adopted the same view as Doctor Bruce as to this stone being used in the construction of that part of the wall which was near the Quarries; but he extended his views to a point, which, if correct, would at once entirely demolish the "Ælian Hypothesis." From the circumstance of the names of two persons being found in this inscription who held the office of Consul in the Roman Government in the time of Severus, and just about the time when Severus is said to have come to Britain, Mr. Bell inferred that operations must have been carried

on for procuring stone here in the reign of Severus, and that the traces of these operations raise a probability that the wall must have been built in his reign, and not by Hadrian. It is not our intention to make more than a passing allusion to Mr. Bell's able and argumentative pamphlet on this occasion. Those who possess a copy of the work will be able to form their own judgment upon the merits or demerits of his views, and also upon the force or the weakness of the arguments by which he endeavours to maintain them.

No sooner was Mr. Bell's pamphlet ushered into the light, than Dr. Bruce sallied forth with the belligerent feeling strong upon him—scuttled all his former statements as to the Gelt Quarries—and let them sink into the big ocean of contradiction. The literary leviathan of the "Ælian Hypothesis" occupies no less than twelve quarto pages of the "Tractate" in an attempt—not only to confute "the Antiquary of Irthington"—but also to refute the very statements which he himself had previously made respecting the Gelt—burying both under an avalanche of twaddle and contempt, with (apparently) the most complete self-possession, and self-satisfaction, while his arguments and statements are cutting each other's throats at every turn. We hope our readers will not start, and turn up the white of their eyes, for we can assure them that some mortals are strangely eccentric in their intellectual isolations. "All the world's a stage"—and its events are often brought about in a very dramatic fashion. Man at the best, as our readers must be well aware, is but a bundle of contradictions—a conundrum of antagonisms—a conglomerated mass of the most heterogeneous compounds, cohering together by the necessities of their frailty and fallibility—but sometimes exploding by the force of their own fermentation. But lest we should be deemed capable of misrepresenting Dr. Bruce on this question, we may refer once more to the Doctor's own words and works, from which it will be evident that his former self will prove as usual his most formidable adversary.

At page 63 of "The Roman Wall" Dr. Bruce says—"The Quarries from which the stone has been procured can, in many instances, be precisely ascertained. On Fallowfield Fell, not far from Chollerford, is an ancient quarry, on the face of which the words (P)ETRA FLAV(I)I CARANTINI, the rock of Flavius Carantinus, are still to be traced." And at page 139 he says of this rock "that the Romans used it in their erections is rendered evident by an inscription which still remains."

Again at page 63 he mentions Barcombe, near Thorngrafton, where a

small copper vessel was found; and Haltwhistle Fell, where a "written stone" was found in 1844 with the inscription—LEG. VI. V., i. e., Legio sexta victrix—the 6th Legion styled Victrix, or Victorious.

He also says—"In Cumberland there are several Roman inscriptions on the face of the ancient quarries. About two miles west of Birdozwald is Coome Crag, which, besides other markings, presents something like the following inscription—

SE . . . . RVS
AI . . . . .
VSTVS.*

i. e. SEVERVS, ALEXANDER AVGVSTVS."

After mentioning the inscription on the Shawk Quarries, near Dalston, Dr. Bruce says—"*The most remarkable of this class of antiquities is the written rock of the Gelt, near Brampton.*"

Now, where is the man who, after reading the above passages, could have the least hesitation in venturing to affirm, on their authority, that Dr. Bruce believed that part at least of the Wall was built from the quarries of the Gelt? It seems, however, that Dr. Bruce thought otherwise, for at page 7 of the "Tractate" he says—"The inscription of the Gelt merely establishes the fact that a part of that Legion (the second) was in Cumberland in the reign of Severus." In another sentence he says—"There is nothing improbable in the idea that a detachment of this Legion, in the reign of Severus, visited these parts, and was engaged in the erection *of some new defences*, in the line of the Wall, or in the reparation of some ruined buildings." There was nothing said, however, about these new defences or ruined buildings at page 63 of "The Roman

* In this copy of the inscription Dr. Bruce omits (for some reason best known to himself) the letter V immediately before the R in the first line, which is very clearly to be seen on the rock; and leaves a much larger space between the E and the R than he ought to do, thus rendering an unfair copy. We understand that another version of this inscription has recently been offered by the Rev. Mr. Maughan, of Bewcastle, namely—

L. S(EP). S(EV)(ER)VS
IMP(ER)ATOR
AVGVSTVS

i.e. Lucius Septimius Severus Imperator Augustus. If this version be correct it goes far to prove that the Quarry was worked in the time of Severus, and offers a fair inference that the Wall was built by him; and confirms Mr. Bell's ideas as to the Gelt.

Wall," where he says—"The quarries from which the stone has been procured can be precisely ascertained." In this passage he was speaking of the wall, and *the wall only*. But at page 11 of the "Tractate" he says—"It may well be doubted if the chief supplies of the wall were derived from this source."

At page 62 of "The Roman Wall," Dr. Bruce says—"The stones employed in building the wall and stations were very carefully selected. When good stones were to be had near at hand, they were taken: but those of inferior quality were never used to avoid the labour of bringing better from a distance. In some parts of the line, in Cumberland especially, the stone must have been brought from quarries seven or eight miles off." At page 64 he mentions the Shawk Quarries as one of the places from which stone was procured for the wall, which must be about half-a-dozen miles from the nearest point. At page 265 he mentions the Gelt as another of these places. At page 279, speaking of the wall between Burgh and Dykesfield, he says—"The Romans seem to have gone to Howrigg Quarry, which is not less than eight miles to the south of the line, for their facing stones; those which they used for the interior of the wall correspond in character with the stone of Stonepot Scar, a quarry on the north side of the Solway."* At page 321, speaking of the station at Pierse Bridge, he says—"All the stone used by the Romans was a coarse gritty sandstone, which had been brought probably from Cockfield, a distance of eight miles."

The passages which we have just quoted render it more than probable that the distance of the Gelt would never be an obstacle to the Romans. In the "Tractate," however, these passages are all knocked on the head by a stone from the Breaks.

At page 11 of the "Tractate," Dr. Bruce quotes his own note-book for some information respecting the Breaks Quarries, which he had received from some farmers at Old Wall. "The information I derived from farmers of the place—there are some old quarries, called the Breaks Quarries, about a mile and a quarter north of the wall, from which it is supposed the stones of the Roman Wall were taken."†. Were farmers the right

* Can this be probable when the red sandstone strata are cropping out in the vale of the Eden almost close at hand, especially in the neighbourhood of Rockliff?

† It would have been more satisfactory if Dr. Bruce had also stated who these farmers were; and who are the persons by whom it is supposed that these stones were taken for the Wall.

sort of folks to glean information from as to the nature and properties of stone, or the extent of imaginary ancient workings? Can Dr. Bruce, or any single individual of these farmers, point out the precise spot where the least trace of these extensive ancient workings is to be found? Is it at all likely that there would have been so many old clay and brick buildings in the immediate vicinity of the Breaks Quarries if the builders of former days had known that there was an abundance of good stone at the Breaks? Does Dr. Bruce know any aged persons in the district who remember the locality distinctly in their youth, and who can remember any tracings of ancient workings there?—or, are not these vestiges of a modern date?

If there are any such aged persons in the district—in their young days the supposed Breaks Quarries would be situated on a level tract of moorland called Irthington Common, which has been since enclosed, and, if quarries had been "extensively wrought in ancient times," large vestiges of these workings must have remained, easily to be seen, and easily remembered.

When commons were enclosed, it was usual to award all the stone which was known of for public quarries, i. e. for the general benefit and use of the parties who were entitled to allotments on the common, and the stones were generally used in the building of the first fences which were made round the allotments. We may ask, then, was this the case here—and if not—why not? Was it not because the stone was considered not good enough even for such fences as these?

Dr. Bruce says that the stone of the Gelt and the Breaks "is of precisely the same quality, being in fact derived from the same range of rock." Now, this may be true in one respect but not in others, as the sandstone strata lie probably under the whole of this part of Cumberland, but at different depths, and they crop out at different places of a very different quality. On the south side of the river Irthing it is generally of a good and durable kind, and suitable for all building purposes. On the north side of the Irthing it is often of a softer, coarser, and more perishable nature.

In the bed of the river Cambeck, just above the place where the wall crosses it, there is an abundance of this soft stone, but the people of the district never think of using it in any of their buildings, as they know very well that it will not "stand the weather." Such stone as this might possibly be used for the interior of the wall, but would certainly never be

used for the outside of the wall, or for the station at Castlesteads, close to the place where the wall crosses the Cambeck. Such might also be the case with the stone of the Breaks.

We believe we are correct when we state that it is only at a comparatively recent period that a better class of stone has been found near the Breaks, and that it is generally in the private allotments, and was not awarded for public quarries.

Dr. Bruce, at page 12 of the "Tractate," says—"I am glad, upon this subject, to quote the opinion of one so intimately acquainted with it as Mr. Hodgson, the Historian of Northumberland." He then quotes two passages from Mr. Hodgson, which show that Mr. Hodgson could have known very little on the subject.

Mr. Hodgson, speaking of the Gelt Quarry, calls it the Hellbeck Scar, but the Hellbeck is the name of another very small rivulet which runs into the Gelt about a mile above "the written rock," and which does not bear any marks of ancient workings on its banks. An error of this kind proves that Mr. Hodgson only spoke from hearsay, and consequently that his authority is very questionable.

Mr. Hodgson says—"Stone could be got in places much nearer, as on the banks of the Irthing"—but where will either Mr. Hodgson or Dr. Bruce find any traces of quarries on the banks of the Irthing any where opposite to, or in the vicinity of, the Gelt?

Mr. Hodgson says—"The murus has been built for a great way westward out of the white sandstone quarries of Lannerton." He is in this passage speaking of the wall across the Irthing, opposite to the Gelt: and we may ask, was it likely that stone would be brought across the Irthing from Lannerton, which must have been seven or eight miles or more from this district, when it could be got from the Gelt in such abundance *and only half that distance;* and, as Dr. Bruce informs us, when it could be got from the Breaks, which was only about a mile and a-half?

We may very reasonably doubt whether any stone from Lannerton Quarry would be used in the wall at all, as the Coome Crags were lower down the river than the Lannerton Quarry—on the same side of the Irthing as the wall—much nearer to the wall—and altogether more convenient than the Lannerton Quarry. After leaving the vicinity of the

Coome Crags the builders would find plenty of white stone till they got nearly opposite to Lanercost, so that stone could easily be procured much nearer than the Lannerton Quarry. Afterwards they would find no lack of stone on the south side of the Irthing, which would serve for all purposes till they came within reach of the Gelt. Lannerton stone would probably never be used—not even in the smallest quantity.

Again, Mr. Hodgson says—"In Laversdale, and at Old Wall and Bleatarn, there are many extensive ancient quarries of red sandstone, of which it has been constructed in that neighbourhood." It is somewhat strange that Mr. Hodgson should go to Old Wall for stone, where he says there have been extensive quarries, and yet when Dr. Bruce goes to this same village called Old Wall, the farmers there tell him that it came from the Breaks. This is something which we cannot quite understand, and it leaves us under rather an unfavourable impression with regard to Mr. Hodgson's authority on this subject.

Mr. Hodgson and Dr. Bruce both seem to entertain an idea that the part of the wall opposite to the Gelt would require extensive quarries. Let us now consider how far this idea is borne out by fact. The wall is somewhere about 80 miles in length, and if we suppose that four miles opposite to the Gelt was built from these workings, then we have about a twentieth part of the wall built from this quarry. Dr. Bruce tells us that the Roman Wall contains 1,702,115 yards of solid masonry, and if we take the twentieth part of this, we have just 85,105 yards of solid masonry in the four miles opposite to the Gelt. Now, a quarry 44 yards long, 44 yards broad, and 44 yards deep, would be about a sufficient size to produce the quantity required for these four miles of the wall: but a quarry of this size would be a mere speck in the workings of the Gelt.

For the benefit of such of our readers as may not have had the pleasure of viewing the romantic scenery of the Gelt, we may state that the Gelt is the name of a small river which runs through a rocky chasm or ravine somewhere about a mile in length, with steep banks on each side, which rise in places to a height probably exceeding one hundred yards, and which seem to be entirely composed of the red sandstone which underlies this district. This ravine varies in breadth from a few yards to more than a hundred in some places, commencing at or near the "written rock," and following up the river about a mile. The tracings of workings are to be found in almost every part of this ravine.

Camden says that there were other inscriptions besides the "written rock" which the "injurie of time hath envied us." These inscriptions and traces show that the Romans must have quarried here to some considerable extent. In fact, for anything which can be seen or said to the contrary (such is the general appearance of these workings), the whole of the Roman Wall, stations, castles, and turrets, may have been procured from the Gelt.

At page 9 of the "Tractate" Dr. Bruce says—"The only period during which any great body of the second legion can have been in the region of the wall is during the reign of Hadrian." This strange statement, which is honoured with a separate paragraph, appears to be made on the authority of Horsley, whose authority however on more important matters Dr. Bruce flushes out with a full tide. But what does Horsley really say on this point? He merely states that the second legion was in Cumberland in the reign of Hadrian—that in the succeeding reign of Antoninus Pius they marched about a hundred miles further north—that in the same reign they were at Caerleon in Monmouthshire—that in the *time of Severus they were employed upon the wall*—and in the year 210 they were again at Caerleon. From these premises Dr. Bruce jumps at the unwarrantable conclusion that *the only period during which they could have been in the region of the wall was in the reign of Hadrian!!* Horsley's statements warrant no such inference, neither can we comprehend the Doctor's logic on this question. Perhaps "the one comprehensive mind" of Hadrian himself would be incompetent to unravel the mystery! We cannot see what was to prevent them from being both at the wall, and also at Caerleon in the same year—even several times if it had been required. Were the locomotive powers of the Roman soldiers so much of the porpoise kind that they could not by any possibility be in these two places in the same reign, or the same year, or even in the same month? There could not be any difficulty in the whole, or any part of this legion, being engaged in building the wall in the year 210 (if it was built in that year), and marching to Caerleon, when it was finished, or near a finish.

Dr. Bruce's assertion that the second legion was at Caerleon in the year 210 seems to be made on the authority of Horsley. The question then arises for consideration—What is Horsley's authority? The only authority of Horsley appears to be an inscription found at Caerleon, but are we certain that the words of this inscription imply that the whole of the second legion was at Caerleon, or that it was there during the whole

of the year? Dr. Bruce objects to Mr. Bell's inference that the second legion was in Cumberland in the reign of Severus on the authority of the Gelt inscription: on the same grounds we may object to Dr. Bruce's inference that they were at Caerleon in the year 210 on the authority of the inscribed stone found there, as mentioned by Horsley. Besides, where, we may ask, does Dr. Bruce get any satisfactory authority for stating that the wall was really built in the year 210? If, as Dr. Bruce says, it took ten years to build it, it was impossible that it could be built in the year 210!!

We believe Dr. Bruce to be in error when he states that "the stones used in the restoration of Irthington Church came from the Breaks Quarries, only a little distance from the old workings." The fact we believe to be as follows. The stones came from another part of Irthington Common—not near the *supposed* old workings—and from a place where there are not the faintest traces of any old workings. The stone which has recently been found in this place appears to be of a character different from either the Gelt or the Breaks—better than either of them—and we believe we are quite correct in saying that this post had never been used before, as it had been only just discovered.

We can also inform Dr. Bruce further on the subject of Irthington Church. The Doctor refers to the intended restoration of the chancel, and almost ventures to prophesy (with apparent pride in his sagacity) that the Roman stones which would then be found would turn out to be stones from the Breaks. The chancel has been now restored, and the masons who were employed in the work were men who were well acquainted with the character of the Breaks and the Gelt stone, and they were decidedly and unanimously of opinion that all the Roman stones in the chancel were from the Gelt, thus confirming the views of Mr. Bell.

Why, it may well be asked by the outer public, do learned men presume to pronounce so decisively on one side or other on matters on which our knowledge is as yet far from ripe? The only answer that can be given is,—that learned men are only men, and so are apt to be over confident about the little they do know; liable to view things as they affect their own vanities and interests, and not always capable of seeing well before them when they undertake to advise mankind. A learned man has his crotchets, which he soon comes to love a great deal better than the truth. A new idea of his own, albeit a weak one, he will nurse and fondle, and bring forward on all occasions; while the better ideas of other men are

perhaps rejected by him, simply because they are not his own. The infirmities of human nature come in to blight the blossoms of truth; self-love,—money-love,—praise-love,—all tell this way. Fashion—coteries—factions—sometimes affect the most important matters to the most mischievous results. Hence most of those startling differences which we see now and then amongst the would-be learned men. We may deplore all such intermixture of human feeling and prejudice with the bright course of absolute truth, but cannot help it; we well know that we cannot altogether get quit of the beggarly elements, do as we will; we must submit for a while to wear them. Every step, however, which we take in well-ascertained knowledge tends to extinguish sources of obscurity and grounds of difference and contradiction; and, consequently, to leave important, but doubtful, historic matters less and less at the mercy of the accidents of human emotions.

## Section 8.—Inscriptions.

There is an old saying that if you wish to please an Antiquary, you cannot do better than give him an old worn-out, illegible inscription. Mr. Hutton, the veteran Antiquarian of the Wall, says—"When the Antiquary has laboured through a parcel of miserable letters, what is he the wiser?" Dr. Bruce, however, thinks that Hutton underrated the value of inscriptions. *Adopting the remark of Dr. Johnson*, he says—"Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses; whatever makes the past, the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Few things are so well calculated to produce this effect as the altars and lettered tablets that have been left on our soil by the Romans."

That Dr. Bruce considers himself no mean hand at deciphering, and drawing inferences from the characters of the inscriptions, is something more than probable from the following sly observation in the 9th page of the "Tractate," where he says—"What one person cannot do another may sometimes accomplish."

As a specimen of the Doctor's wonderful cleverness in this craft, we may refer to his "Roman Wall," page 220, where he gives a woodcut of a stone found at Cawfields Mile Castle, with the small remains of four lines of inscription upon it. In the first line we have the letters I M, which may stand for Imperator or not. In the second line is the letter H,

which may have been intended for Hadrian, or many other words. In the third line are the letters letters L E ; and in the fourth line the letters A P I. Now, most persons, on looking at this inscription, would at once pronounce it unintelligible. Not so Dr. Bruce, for he infers that it is a stone on which the second Legion endeavours to perpetuate its name and those of the Emperor Hadrian and Aulus Plautorius Nepos, his legate,—*and that the castle and wall were built at the same time and by the same parties!* If this be true the wall will not be the work of "one comprehensive mind." Hadrian will not have the entire undivided glory of constructing this "great line of barrier," and thus leaving "the impress of his mighty mind behind him"—but Aulus Plautorius Nepos ought to have a share of the glory. That the stone may record something about Hadrian, and Aulus Plautorius Nepos, or some other person, we do not presume to doubt, but we certainly do think that the inference from it that *they built the wall and castle, and all this at the same time,* is purely imaginary, and may be safely taken for just as much as it is worth.

Dr. Bruce, at page 308 of "The Roman Wall," also mentions another slab, six feet long, found at Risingham. He says—"The inscription mentions the restoration of the gate with the walls of the station. The upper part, which is lost, probably, contained the name of Severus." It is evident, however, that it might just possibly contain the name of some other person ; more especially as the upper part which contained the name is lost, and there appears to be no record of it.

At page 147 of "The Roman Wall" he mentions a stone found at Cilurnum (one of the stations on the line of the wall) *without any inscription.* In his obliging readiness to give us explanations of everything, he tells us that it is the statue of a river-god, and is probably intended for the genius of the neighbouring river—the North Tyne.

At page 20 of the "Tractate" Dr. Bruce says—"During a considerable period of the Roman dominion, it was customary to attach to a building a slab recording the name of the Emperor in whose reign it was reared..... This custom was coming into vogue in the time of Hadrian.....This being the case, we might, on the supposition that Severus subsequently raised the more important work in England, expect to find this Emperor's name frequently occurring on the lettered fragments found among the ruins of the wall.....Although the practice to which reference has been made was not so prevalent in the days of Hadrian as it afterwards became, there is

more frequent mention of him than of Severus in the lettered fragments of the barrier."

Now, statements such as these may be all very well to throw dust in the eyes of the uninitiated, but *where is Dr. Bruce's authority* for stating that it was customary to attach such slabs to a building—*that the custom was coming into vogue in the time of Hadrian*—and that the practice was not so prevalent in the days of "the mighty Hadrian" as it afterwards became? In what ancient author does Dr. Bruce find any such information? If Dr. Bruce cannot refer to any ancient authority for making such decisive statements, will he have the goodness to tell us what are the powers of the telescope through which he looks back into ages so long past and gone, and which enables him to see and to describe all their several doings so clearly and so minutely, and more especially the operations of "the mighty Hadrian," the bright pole-star of all the Doctor's musings?

Dr. Bruce, having premised the aforesaid statements, proceeds with wonderful acuteness to lay it down as an axiom, that wherever a stone is found with the name of Hadrian upon it (no great matter whether it be found on the line of wall, or in some Roman post at the distance of several miles) "its presence very emphatically declares that it (the wall) was erected in his reign."

Now, Dr. Bruce might, with as much truth, assert that wherever a stone was found on the line of the wall, bearing the name of Jupiter, Mars, Hercules, Neptune, Mercury, Mithras, Victory, Silvanus, or any other heathen god, that it "emphatically declares" that the wall was built by such a deity; which would be carrying out this peculiar system of dialectic to an extreme point of absurdity.

If the principle, however, be a good one, let us go on with it, and see how it works in its general bearings. If the axiom be true that, wherever a stone is found with the name of Hadrian upon it, that stone "emphatically declares" that the wall, or even that a part of it, was erected by him—then the same axiom, or a similar one, will also "emphatically declare" that wherever or whenever a stone is found bearing the name of any other Emperor, the only inference according to Dr. Bruce's logic to be drawn from the circumstance is, that the wall, or at least that part of it, must have been erected by that Emperor. Let us now proceed to consider how Dr. Bruce parries the necessary inferences

from such facts. People in their haste sometimes rashly seize a knife by the blade, and are apt to get mangled for their pains. Let us see how it fares with Dr. Bruce and his inscribed slabs.

At page 78 of "The Roman Wall" Dr. Bruce mentions a slab found at Hunnum (one of the stations on the line of wall) bearing the names of two Consuls in the reign of Antoninus Pius. Now, one might very naturally expect Dr. Bruce to apply his axiom to this slab, and draw his inference that either Antoninus Pius, or the two Consuls, had erected this part of the barrier. We find, however, something of a different kind. Dr. Bruce, following his instinct, says that this stone affords undeniable authority that Antoninus Pius *repaired Hadrian's vallum*—that he could not, or durst not, trust the Mæatæ, but thought himself obliged to keep up the southern prætenturæ, lest they should, on any disturbance, join the Caledonians.

At page 455 he mentions another slab inscribed to Antoninus Pius; and at page 337 he gives a woodcut of a stone bearing the name of Severus; but from neither of these does he draw any inference whatever. He passes onwards without applying his favourite axiom to either of them. He gives way to the strength of his personal sympathies, and he lays aside his principle on this occasion with as little compunction as he would throw away an orange after he had sucked the juice out of it.

If, however, a stone happens to turn up with the name of Hadrian upon it, then the axiom springs up again in all its vigour and vitality. At page 203 he gives us a specimen of one of these Hadrian slabs, and says—"It, and the other fragments which have since been found in different mile-castles, tend to produce the conviction, that the mile-castles (which are on the line of the wall ascribed to Severus) were built by Hadrian." And at page 224 he mentions another Hadrian slab, respecting which he says—"Why the upper part of the tablet was left blank does not appear; enough, however, has been inserted to support the theory that Hadrian built the wall." Now, the inscription itself merely says—"To the Emperor Cæsar Trajanus Hadrianus Augustus, the father of his country." It merely contains one of those fulsome compliments of which Hadrian was perhaps a peculiar admirer. There is nothing in it whatever about building this, or any other wall, and we cannot see where Dr. Bruce has any grounds for drawing any such inference, either from this stone, or the one previously mentioned.

In fact, as Dr. Bruce says—"These inscriptions are remarkable for their simplicity, and consist only of the name of the Emperor, of the Imperial legate, and of the legion or cohort—no verb or participle is introduced upon them." So that, as far as the inscription is a guide, any person is at liberty to draw any inference he pleases from them. They do not mention the wall, or give us any intimation as to their object. For anything that can be positively said to the contrary, the name of Hadrian may have been inscribed on these slabs merely for the purpose of commemorating his short visit to Britain, or perhaps to this part "of the mural region"—or for some other purpose of no very great importance. Dr. Bruce tells us at page 34 of "The Roman Wall"—we know not on what authority—but no doubt he has some authority either from his wonderful telescope, or some other equally wonderful source on which we may venture if we like to place the most unbounded confidence—that the labourers stood in a row from the quarry to the wall, and handed the stones from one to another. Now, if they handed the hot limestones from the limekilns in the same way, might not some of these Hadrian slabs have been commemorative of "the mighty Hadrian" taking a turn at the work, and burning his fingers?

The slabs which have been found on the line of the wall, which was built by Antoninus Pius, only a few years after the reign of Hadrian, between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, state distinctly for what purpose they had been made. They leave no room for a multiplicity of inferences, but come to the point at once. For, besides the name of the Emperor, and the cohort, they generally contain some such word as "fecit" or "perfecit opus"—*executed this work*—and they also generally specify the number of paces executed. And from such facts and circumstances being omitted in these Hadrian slabs we may draw the inference that the Hadrian slabs had no reference to the building of the wall, and were never intended to be memorials of its erection by Hadrian.

Dr. Bruce, at page 7 of the "Tractate," speaking of the inscription at the Gelt, which mentions the second legion, and refers to the time of Severus, says—"The inscription at the Gelt merely establishes the fact that a part of that legion *was in Cumberland* in the reign of Severus." If, however, a stone turn up in any quarter, either on the line of the wall or within many miles of it, which bears the name of the second legion and the name of the Emperor Hadrian upon it, Dr. Bruce at once draws the inference that the stone is a record not only that the second legion was in Cumberland but that it was engaged in building the wall in the reign of

Hadrian. If, however, the inscription records the building of the wall in the one case, why does it not do so in the other? If it merely records the presence of the second legion in Cumberland in the one case, why has it a greater signification in the other—why, we may ask, should there be such a marked difference between the one case and the other?

At page 20 of the "Tractate" Dr. Bruce states that "The name of Severus occurs only, at most four times, on the stones of the mural region .... and that not fewer than ten slabs record the name of Hadrian." At page 21 he says—"Their presence, at all events, proves the influence of Hadrian in Britain, and shows *the preponderance of his influence over that of Severus*," which is a piece of trickery sufficient to excite a mutiny even in a duckpond, or to rouse the ghost of Severus with rankling discontent against him. In the "Tractate" he favours us with engravings of seven of these Hadrian stones, but with none of those of Severus. Four of these Hadrian stones are merely fragments, and contain only isolated fragments of inscriptions; and some of them were not found on the line of the wall, and may originally have had nothing to do with it. The fifth bears the names of Nerva and Trajan as well as that of Hadrian, so that according to Dr. Bruce's axiom the Emperors Nerva and Trajan must also have had a share in erecting the barrier. The sixth of these stones was found at Moresby, about thirty miles from the wall, from which distance we may presume that the wall was not its primitive destination. Taking away these fragments, and the Nerva and Moresby stones, the balance against Severus will not be of such a very preponderating character. Besides, several more slabs may have been attached belonging to Severus, but as his name would be most odious to the inhabitants of the country north of the wall, they would omit no opportunity of erasing his name whenever they got admittance into "the mural region." We need not wonder at the scarcity of such slabs if we only look at the almost total destruction of the stations, mile-castles, turrets, and even of the wall itself.

As Hadrian was not a warrior, we may infer that his soldiers would have plenty of time on hand for making these inscribed slabs, or perhaps anything else they fancied to do, hence the larger number of such stones inscribed to Hadrian than to Severus, whose soldiers were otherwise and more constantly occupied. Hadrian was probably more of an architect, or master mason, than a warrior, and might be more gratified with slabs than Severus. Building appears to have been a sort of hobby with him, and he would have men with him qualified to make these stones with inscriptions.

We would further observe that although the social history of the Romans during their occupation of Britain exists in no written chronicle, and has to be sought in the mouldering relics which have from time to time been redeemed from the depths of the earth, yet inscriptions are not generally an authority to which we can appeal for enlightenment as to the building of the Roman Wall. Whatever may be their merits, they are not precise enough to compose the minds of the hesitating. And although some inscribed stones have been found in the "mural region," yet there is no positive proof that the wall was their original destination.

Dr. Bruce himself has given numerous instances in which stones and other relics have been removed from their supposed original position. The Rudge-Cup is a special instance, which was found some time ago at the bottom of a well in Wiltshire, and which Dr. Bruce supposes to have been taken thither from Birdozwald, in Cumberland.

At the present day, several enterprising collectors, resident in London or its neighbourhood, are in the habit of making periodical forays to rifle the shores, the rivers, and the graves or tumuli of the whole kingdom; and to London they generally convey the best of their spoils. In the same way some residents in "the mural region" may have been in the habit of carrying on a wholesale system of robbing and collecting in former times, and thus carrying stones to a quarter for which they were not intended; thus defeating the ends of science, robbing the district of its historical materials, and divesting them of their associative value. In short, it is impossible to state with any degree of certainty from what soil these vestiges of the past may have been first dug—how often they may have changed their abode—how often, even, they may have fallen under the hammer of the auctioneer—or been dispersed no man knows where. The case, however, assumes a very different appearance when inscriptions are found upon rocks where extensive quarries have been made in the vicinity of the wall. Can Dr. Bruce produce any of Hadrian's inscriptions in any of these quarries?

Dr. Bruce, in his own writings, furnishes a very conclusive evidence that the authority of these inscribed slabs is very unsatisfactory, and that no valid arguments can now be legitimately drawn either from their presence or their scarcity. At page 517 of "The Roman Wall" he says—"The peculiarly fertile nature of the soil between the river Irthing and the Solway has been inimical to the preservation of the wall and its

antiquities. The wants of a numerous population rendered stones of every kind valuable; and in an ignorant age, when any thing in the shape of a letter was regarded as a thing of evil omen, those most precious to the historian were the first to be sacrificed." At page 91, speaking of Wallsend, he says—"Stones with inscriptions were found, but the incurious masons built them up again in the new works of the Colliery." And at page 99, speaking of the station at Newcastle, he says—"In the middle ages, Newcastle abounded in churches and monastic buildings. To the erection of these, and of the castle, the town-wall and gates, every stone, whether lettered, sculptured, or plain, that could be easily obtained, would be appropriated." After the perusal of statements such as these, we think we may safely venture to throw the winding-sheet over all arguments and inferences to be derived from inscribed slabs.

## Section 9.—Position of the Wall and Vallum.

When wrttten record is utterly blank, prudent and skilful Archæologists are often able to deduce momentous historical associations and inferences from the remains of the Romans, and thus to illustrate the magnificent conceptions of the Roman mind. Dr. Bruce attempts to fascinate us with ingenious devices woven from the position of the works of the wall and the vallum, against which attempt we must presume to mutter our protest. As might perhaps be reasonably expected, he is more bold in the enunciation of his views, than he is successful in establishing them, thus faring like some heroic spider that has unwittingly snared a hornet to the utter ruin of its own web. Affirmative statements are freely made by Dr. Bruce, and yet grim facts of a contrary nature frequently look us in the face. In this disregard of truth there is a lofty boldness, which challenges at least a certain degree of admiration. But Dr. Bruce must not expect to "make a silk purse out of a sow's ear" on all occasions; nor will he be able to advance his "Ælian Hypothesis" one single jump by any arguments or inferences drawn from the works of the wall and the vallum. A man may be able to theorize profoundly, or spin the subtlest webs of argument, and yet not unfrequently place himself in the ridiculous position of tumbling into pitfalls excavated by himself, and of being thus tortured in one of his own traps. Reality may pass through a series of developments and contrarieties, but it will always proclaim its existence, and assert its supremacy to the world at last.

At page 27 of the "Tractate" Dr. Bruce commences his examination

of these works by saying—"If Hadrian erected a wall of turf, as a defence against the Caledonians, we shall naturally expect to find that it occupies the strongest points for resisting aggression from the north. This it does not."—Now this statement commences with an "if"; and consequently proves nothing. We look upon all webs which have nothing but "ifs" for their warp, as no thicker than the butter on a slice of boarding-school bread. We have only to change two or three words in the sentence thus—"If Severus did so and so"; or, "if Napoleon did so and so"—and the sentence will prove quite as much for Severus or Napoleon, as it does for Hadrian. Dr. Bruce assumes that the wall of Hadrian was intended as a defence against the Caledonians. Of this intention, however, we have no direct proof, for Spartian, who is the only ancient author who ascribes a wall to Hadrian, certainly does not tell us that it was built for any such purpose.

In the aforesaid page of the "Tractate" Dr. Bruce asserts that "the murus takes the high grounds, and seizes those points by which the country to the north can be best commanded"—and that—"the vallum affects the low grounds, and is chiefly remarkable for taking up those positions which are best adapted for repelling aggression from the south." Again at page 35 of "The Roman Wall" he says that the wall "so far from declining a hill uniformly selects one. It never fails to seize the highest points, no matter how often it is compelled, with this view, to change its direction." And at page 364 he says—"the murus selects those acclivities from which an attack from the north can be best repelled—the vallum, those from which aggression from the south can be best repelled." Again at page 199 he says—"the engineer of the vallum never departs from his course to go round the north of a hill, as he does to go round the south of that one near Halton Chesters."

Let us now see how these statements apply to the works in Cumberland. On entering this county, at the railway station at Rosehill, near Gilsland, the wall approaches very near to the river Irthing. This river for some distance afterwards runs in a deep narrow gullet or chasm with a rocky precipice on each side of it, which would have rendered the passage of the river difficult, and at all times have afforded support to the wall, if it had been merely intended as a defence from aggression from the north. The wall, by following closely to the south bank of the river, might have availed itself of this friendly support, but it does not.

Again, after crossing the river Eden at Carlisle, it follows the course

of this river to Beaumont, about four miles, and by adhering closely to the high and steep bank on the south side of this river might have obtained additional assistance, but it cultivates no such amicable relations with the bank of the Eden.

On what grounds can we account for this total disregard of natural aids, except on the supposition that the builder of the wall did not look upon this "aggression from the north" as such a scarecrow as Dr. Bruce asserts it to be.

Here we may observe that this position of the works on the *south side* of the Irthing and the Eden is totally at variance with the crafty arguments and surmises which Dr. Bruce lays down at pages 78 and 79 of "The Roman Wall" for the works being placed along *the northern banks* of the Tyne and the Irthing. And we may also observe that, in considering the position of the wall and vallum, it would be well to bear one thing in mind, namely, that all or most of the stations on the line of the wall may have been built by Agricola before the wall was thought of; and, also, that some authors are of opinion that Agricola made a rampart, or earthen wall, between each of them, so that Hadrian or Severus was only following in the steps of a former general: and further that the builder of the wall might take the high grounds, whenever possible and practicable, merely for the purpose of getting the best view of the surrounding country, and securing the driest ground for his troops.

This high ground, however, does not appear to have been adopted on all occasions. At page 119 of "The Roman Wall" Dr. Bruce tells us that the station called Vindobala, or Rutchester, does not stand upon a lofty eminence; and at page 126 he also tells us that the station called Hunnum, or Halton Chesters, "has been placed in the valley rather than on one of the elevations which *command it east and west*"—a fact of very great importance showing that high grounds were not always essentials in the line of the wall. We may also observe that the station Petriana, or Castlesteads, is placed near the bottom of the southern slope of ground, which rises considerably higher on the north-east side of it where the wall passes—thus avoiding "those points by which the country to the north can be best commanded."

A brief review of some of the points of the barrier will tend to convince us that the wall did not always aim at elevated positions, and did

not always keep on the north side of those eminences which might command it; and that the vallum did not always guard against a hill on the south side, as Dr. Bruce wishes to persuade us.

Immediately after passing the railway bridge near the Rosehill station, and entering into Cumberland, the vallum passes on *the north side* of a small ridge, at a short distance, which thus of course commands and overlooks it for a distance of about two hundred yards: and, again, before reaching the Irthing it is overlooked and commanded in the same way by another and a higher ridge, which almost immediately succeeds the other, *on the south side of the vallum*, for six or seven hundred yards. As the wall approaches the Irthing at Birdozwald it is commanded and covered *on the north side* by the north bank of the river, which is of considerable height here, and runs nearly parallel with the wall for about 200 yards, just before it crosses the river.

For the first three hundred yards after leaving Birdozwald the ground slopes from the wall to the north, while on the south side it is nearly level. After passing over these three hundred yards the wall proceeds along the foot of a ridge which lies on the south side of it, while the ground is nearly level on the north side of it for some distance. At the same time the vallum commences skirting along the edge, *or northern slope*, of this southern ridge for about 500 yards, rising as it proceeds along *this northern slope* until it attains the summit of it near its western extremity, so that it is completely overlooked and covered by the ridge for about 500 yards. This might have been easily avoided by taking and keeping the crest of the ridge from the first, instead of sloping along *its northern side*. If the design of the vallum had been as stated by Dr. Bruce it would unquestionably have seized either upon the crest or the southern slope of this ridge, and have altogether avoided *its northern face*.

After passing the western point of this ridge, the ground begins to rise on *the north side* of the wall until it attains a considerable elevation. If the wall had taken the crest, or the north side of this hill, and if the vallum had pursued the crest of the southern ridge already mentioned, several disadvantageous positions might have been avoided, and ground very favourable to Dr. Bruce's views might easily have been secured which would have commanded almost boundless views both to the north and the south. The disregard of these positions appears unaccountable, and fatal to Dr. Bruce's theory.

Before reaching the farmstead called High-house the vallum is again overlooked *by a ridge on the south side of it* for about 300 yards. On approaching the farmhouse called Lee-hill the wall is overlooked by a small eminence *on the north side of it.* If, however, the wall had been placed a little way farther to the north it would have secured the advantage of a very steep bank *on its northern side* for a distance of nearly a mile. Again, both on the east and the west sides of Bankshill, it is partly overlooked by the rising ground towards the north.

After crossing the river King, and in ascending to the village of Walton, the wall is commanded by the ground which slopes up from it towards the north. After passing the river Cambeck, where it is overlooked on both sides of the river by the higher ground to the north, it proceeds for about a mile *along the foot of a high bank, which is on the north side of it,* and which of necessity completely overlooks and covers it, whereas if the wall and vallum had been carried a little farther to the north, along the summit of this bank, instead of keeping in the valley, a better view to the north would have been obtained; the northern foe would have been deprived of such a favourable position; and the vallum itself would have secured the advantage of natural aid from the bank being on its southern side. It is also to be observed that the vallum is commanded for a short distance by the south bank of the river Cambeck.

Here, then, soon after entering into Cumberland we find, within a few miles, a successive series of features of the wall and the vallum directly opposed to the statement of Dr. Bruce, and of which he takes no notice. Let us now explore a few of Dr. Bruce's own pages, and see what he does say on this point.

At page 138 of "The Roman Wall" he tells us that "directly opposite to the 19th milestone is a circular mound *on the north side* of the wall"—one of the last places where we might have looked for it. At page 118 he mentions a crag *on the south side* of both wall and vallum which he says "*completely commands them.*" And at page 198 he again says—"it is true that the vallum is occasionally commanded *by the rising ground on the south:* opposite Sewingshields it is so: and opposite Hotbank, *it is overlooked on both sides.*" Dr. Bruce must expect people to be able to view things with a very oblique and distorted vision if he expects them to be able to reconcile such conflicting statements.

At page 128 Dr. Bruce mentions a watercourse which had proceeded from the station at Hunnum, or Halton Chesters, about three-quarters of a mile long, and which had been made *on the north*, or the enemy's side of the country. Again, at page 225, he speaks of another watercourse, of the amazing length of six miles, which had been constructed from the station called Æsica, or Great Chesters, and had advanced direct into this formidable enemy's country.

Now it is very evident that if the builder of the wall had been influenced by a dread of a northern foe to so great a degree as Dr. Bruce wishes us to believe, he would never have made these watercourses, which must have been a work of considerable labour, in the country of that very foe where any single individual of that dreaded foe might have cut down the edge of the watercourse, and thus have permitted the water to escape and flow in some other direction, and so have rendered all their labours fruitless. If the builder of the wall really did so, then we most assuredly cannot compliment him on the superabundance of his forethought. The position of these watercourses controverts the Hadrian theory, for it is impossible to conceive that such a scheme could have originated with his comprehensive mind.

When we consider the modes of warfare practised by the Romans and the Caledonians, we cannot see any peculiar advantage or disadvantage to be gained from the position of the wall on either side of the eminence. If, however, we consider the distinguishing qualities of the two Emperors, we may at once see the why and the wherefore of its position. Hadrian was a man fond of indulgence at every point—just the very man to choose the sunny side in preference to the shady side of the hill—while Severus was a regular dreadnought: a man who feared the peltings of Boreas as little as he did that of the Caledonians. At page 307 of "The Roman Wall" we find Dr. Bruce making the following observations, which appear to bear very closely upon this point. Of the station called Habitancum, he says—"The position struck me, the first time I saw it, with surprise. Instead of occupying an eminence, as most of the stations on the wall do, it is placed in a valley, and close upon the banks of the Rede. Hills environ it, though not very closely, on every side. They who, in early spring, have been exposed on the neighbouring heights to the sleety shower will know the reason of the selection."

There are some other posts set up by Dr. Bruce which bear on this question, and on which we may venture to give him a rub or

two. At page 34 of "The Roman Wall" he says—"The whole of the works proceed from one side of the island to the other in a nearly direct line"; and in the succeeding page he further states—"The most striking feature in the plan, both of the murus and the vallum, is the determinate manner in which they pursue their straightforward course." ....."As the wall traverses higher ground, this remarkable tendency is more easily detected in it than in the vallum." A single glance, however, at the map or plan of the wall given by Dr. Bruce will in a moment show that this is not the case, and more especially in the central district where the ground is generally highest. To the most careless observer it will be sufficiently evident that the trail of a drunken man in the snow has seldom furnished a more perfect development of the figure generally known as a zigzag.

At page 27 of the "Tractate," to which we have already referred, is a statement which appears scarcely consonant with those principles of veracity which we may very justly expect in an historian. Dr. Bruce says—"The murus almost *uniformly falls in with the north rampart of the stations; the vallum with the south.*" On referring, however, to Dr. Bruce's topographical description of the Roman Wall, we find that this uniformity is of the most meagre character. Of the seventeen stations which he describes, he only mentions four in which the wall forms *the northern* boundary of the station. These are Procolitia, Borcovicus, Amboglanna, and Burgh-upon-Sands. Now, four out of seventeen can only be considered as a small relative degree of proportion. Besides, at the station at Drumburgh, there is a space of a few yards between the northern boundary of the station and the Roman Wall—the wall, in fact, passes the station there as if it had no connection with it whatever. The station at Carvorran is altogether *on the south side of both the wall and the vallum.* At the adjoining station called Æsica, or Great Chesters, Dr. Bruce tells us that "the vallum is *upwards of a quarter of of a mile* from the station." The station called Petriana, or Cambeck-fort, is nearly *half a mile south of both* wall and vallum. And the station Vindolana, or Chesterholm, is actually *more than a mile south of both barriers.* Where, then, we may very properly ask, are the proofs of this uniformity from which Dr. Bruce deduces his inferences that the wall and the vallum are "the work of one comprehensive mind"? A careful analysis of the "Topographical Description of the Roman Wall" will convince even the most sceptical inquirer that the reliable grains of fact bear to the dubious chaff of assertion about the same degree of proportion as the bread did to the sack in Falstaff's tavern bill. Dr. Bruce boasts of

having traversed the mural belt in its length and breadth, and having studied on the ground, both in sunshine and shade, the relations of the several parts of the great barrier. We do not doubt the fact that Dr. Bruce may have sauntered among its ruins—paraded as a sentinel on its battlements—passed and re-passed on its various fragments—followed it with his eyes in the fondness of his affections—turned back to gaze—persecuted it with his looks, or performed some of his most astonishing gyrations before it—or even walked and communed with the pale shivering ghost of Hadrian;—but what does it all amount to if he at the same time permitted the seething, bubbling cauldron of prejudice to throw its fiery vapours through every interstice of his cranium?

We must crave the indulgence of our readers while we refer once more to this 27th page of the "Tractate," which is rather a remarkable sort of page—a sort of broom, perhaps, by which Dr. Bruce intended to sweep everything before him. Dr. Bruce in this said page states that—"the vallum and murus run across the country side by side with each other." Now most people have an aptitude to recoil from anything that is too tortuously refined, and we cannot but feel a strong recoil from this statement. On referring once more to the Doctor's description of the wall, we find him stating at page 165 that—"the lines of the barrier keep close together, so close, sometimes, as scarcely to leave room for the passage of the military way between them." And at page 242 he says that—"the two walls are within thirteen paces of one another at Poltross Burn"—and again at page 122 he says that—"the vallum almost touches the wall on the top of Harlow-hill"—while at page 42 he tells us that—"the distance between the wall and the vallum is perpetually varying"—and at page 34 that—"midway between the seas the country attains a considerable elevation; here the stone wall seeks the highest ridges, but the vallum runs along the adjacent valley"—and at page 198 that "the vallum runs for several miles in the valley below." And even in this 27th page of the "Tractate" Dr. Bruce falls into the glaring error of contradicting his own statement, for while he tells us near the centre of the page that "they run across the country *side by side*," he actually tells us also, near the bottom of the same page, that "the murus takes the high grounds, while the vallum affects the low grounds"; so that it is altogether impossible that they could "run side by side." Besides, how could they be said to run across the country side by side, when Dr. Bruce tells us, at page 34 of "The Roman Wall," that the "vallum falls short of the wall about three miles at each end." In this page also we find Dr. Bruce making a statement which he afterwards shows

to be not true: for he says that the vallum terminates at Drumburgh on the west; while at page 281 he says—"it is certain that the vallum terminates at Dykesfield," which is about three miles farther to the east than Drumburgh; so that the vallum actually falls six miles short of the wall at the west end, and, consequently, it is impossible for them to be running side by side here.

In the plan of the Roman wall which Dr. Bruce has given us he lays down no traces of the vallum, but in a copy of one of Horsley's maps which he has introduced into his work, we find that from near Carrawburgh to Carvorran, i. e. over the high and exposed ground of Northumberland, for a distance of about fifteen miles, the vallum shuns the society of the wall altogether, takes a course of its own along the low and sheltered country, in some places more than a mile from the wall, and thus leaves the wall alone in its glory. This certainly cannot be said to be running side by side, but it affords a convincing proof of the sagacity and prudence by which Hadrian was distinguished, for we think there can be no doubt that the vallum was the work of "the mighty Hadrian," whether it was built at the same time as the wall or not.

On a careful review, therefore, of Dr. Bruce's variegated statements and inferences as to the position of the works of the wall and the vallum, we are irresistibly drawn to the unavoidable conclusion that Dr. Bruce is often the first to advocate a cause and at the same time one of the first to upset it.

Before closing this section we would draw attention to a very peculiar fact connected with these works. The wall was accompanied by a broad and deep fosse or ditch placed on the north side of it, i. e. between it and the northern foe: and Dr. Bruce tells us that, "by increasing the comparative height of the wall, it added greatly to its strength." Now, taking for granted that the wall and the vallum were contemporaneous works, and that the wall was made for the purpose of repelling the northern foe, and that the vallum was constructed to repel a southern foe, why, we may ask, was not the ditch belonging to the vallum placed on the south side of its ramparts or between the ramparts and this southern foe of which Dr. Bruce informs us? Instead of the ditch being placed on the south side of the ramparts, the very reverse is the case. We find two ramparts of the vallum actually placed on the south side of this ditch, and this appears to afford strong grounds that the object of the vallum must have been the repelling of aggression from the north

rather than from the south; if it was made for the purpose of repelling aggression at all. This want of uniformity of design and purpose is a difficulty which Dr. Bruce, with all his ingenuity, is unable to solve, and for which he acknowledges that he cannot find an answer.

It is now time to draw this section to a close. We have endeavoured to give a fair criterion of Dr. Bruce's arguments, sophistries, and contrarieties on the position of the works of the wall and the vallum. We have laid them before our readers, all whipped together as if ready for a pancake, and the grand result of Dr. Bruce's labours on this subject only reminds us of Otway's "Old Woman," whose gown of many colours spoke—"variety of wretchedness."

## Section 10.—"Mirabile Dictu."

The land of criticism is to many persons a strange land; its language, to a considerable extent, is a strange language; and its spirit is "uncanny," as the Scotch folks call it. At page 29 of the "Tractate" Dr. Bruce compares Mr. Bell to a small schoolboy, and quizzes him for quoting the words "mirabile dictu," an exclamation which, he says, is of frequent occurrence in the Æneid of Virgil, and with which "young adventurers in Latinity are tolerably familiar." In the tone of the communication we may detect a pleasant vein of sarcasm, which proves that the Doctor rather relishes the fun.

Mr. Bell may not have had quite so much of the pedantry of the pedagogue about him as Dr. Bruce, inasmuch as he had not so long the practice and the experience of a schoolmaster, and consequently could not be expected to be versed in all the mysteries of school-lore; but we do know this, that Mr. Bell was a man of very respectable classical attainments, and tolerably well read in the almost boundless field of ancient authors. He was not one of those who boggle at every word, and thumb the dictionary at every turn. We know also that Mr. Bell was one of those nobler spirits whose worth, even if he were not conversant with a single line in any Latin author, would have made him a credit and an ornament to any position which he might be called upon to fill; and he was one who could keep his moorings.

We certainly delight in seeing Dr. Bruce aiming to be witty, because on such occasions he is sure to turn out very droll and funny. When it suits him, he can in a moment forget all his former acts and deeds

(perhaps as the playbills say, for this time only), and he complacently expects his readers to do the same. He censures the "Antiquary of Irthington" for quoting an expression from Virgil, and yet he himself frequently resorts to the pages of Virgil for his own quotations. One might have expected that he would have eschewed all school-books, as far beneath his dignity, but the reverse is the case. He commences his "Historical and Topographical Description of the Barrier of the Lower Isthmus" by quoting Tacitus in the second page, Horace in the third, Juvenal at page 436, and with Ovid (generally the first of Latin books placed in the hands of "young adventurers in Latinity") he shows a very intimate acquaintance by quoting him at pages 191—373—374—376—407—and 409. These are authors with whom schoolboys are often forced unwillingly to form an acquaintance, with much labour and sorrow—and some of them are authors who have never attained so high a literary standard as the poor Mantuan Bard, who is for the nonce the object of the Doctor's ridicule, and who is nevertheless always looked upon as the greatest of Latin poets. And, what is the most "mirabile dictu," the most remarkable thing of all, at pages 32—376—383—392—and 407 of "The Roman Wall," even Dr. Bruce himself condescends to quote the said poet Virgil by way of illustrating his own effusions!!

Some ambitious men struggle on, as it were a matter of necessity, towards the perfection of their destiny—some burn their fingers, while others bedaub themselves with mud. Perhaps so much the better, for it is only by believing in what is best, that we can attain to what is tolerable. Experience is a pocket-compass which some never think of consulting till they have lost their way. Mankind has no such enemies as the cynics, who jeer at the noble efforts of others as Utopian, and who would doom all others to evils on the plea that they are capable of nothing better. Such folks have always a very clear and invariable instinct that they occupy a much higher place in the world than others, and they have often their own ends to serve by their philosophy. We cannot but express sorrow for Dr. Bruce's critical aberrations and incongruities, but we cannot but regard him as the author of his own sufferings. If men will tumble down now and then in a nettle-bed, they must not complain of being stung. Dr. Bruce may be a megatherium of learning—a sort of mastodon of criticism—among Virgilian schoolboys, but if he had only been a little more conversant with his own writings, he might have spared himself the trouble of concocting such a sneer—of whipping himself with a rod pickled in his own classic brine—and of burying himself under an avalanche of his own sarcasms.

## Section 11.—Modern Testimonies.

Having thus taken a general review of the arguments derived from the works themselves, and feeling fully convinced that contradictory statements on the one side, and the exposure of them on the other, can never decide such an absorbing question, we may now proceed to the most important part, namely, the testimonies which historians afford us on this subject. In treating on this branch of our illustrations we shall follow the system adopted by Dr. Bruce, who has divided these testimonies into three classes, modern, negative, and positive.

Dr. Bruce commences his observations on these testimonies by beginning with the modern first, and we shall take the liberty of following his example on this occasion. In the second page of the "Tractate," he refers, apparently with much exultation, to three influential literary gentlemen of the present day as kind friends and patrons of the "Hadrian theory," namely, Mr. Hodgson, the historian of Northumberland; Mr. Roach Smith, the editor of the Collectanea Antiqua and other antiquarian publications; and Mr. Thomas Wright, the author of "The Celt, The Roman, The Saxon." Dr. Bruce, in a note, also alludes to another gentleman, whom he does not name, who appears to be the great bell-wether of the lot, who having undertaken the superintendence of a second edition of that valuable work, "Stuart's Caledonia Romana," rushed into unenviable notoriety by inserting opinions on the authorship of the Wall quite contrary to those of Mr. Stuart. Mr. Hodgson is dead, and we have not forgotten the maxim, "de mortuis nil nisi bonum." Of Mr. Smith and Mr. Wright we shall say nothing; and of the other gentleman alluded to by Dr. Bruce, we know nothing farther than that Dr. Bruce refers to him with special marks of approbation, eulogizing him, we suppose, on the principle of "claw me, claw thee." "Like to like, quoth the devil to the collier," says John Bunyan. But this nameless gentleman got such a scarifying in the pages of the Athenæum (Nov. 20, 1852,) as may keep him clear of such tantrums for the rest of his life.

Influenced by these great authorities Dr. Bruce proceeds, in the plenitude of his presumption, to inform the world at large that HE has substituted the name "Hadrian's Wall" in lieu of the expression "the Wall of Severus"—that, in short, on the potent authority of Dr. Bruce it must henceforth, and through all future ages, be known as, and designated "Hadrian's Wall." Where, we may ask, did the christening take place?

Only fancy what a sputtering there would be when the Doctor's bantling was plunged into the grimy waters of the Tyne! Dr. Bruce prefaces the "Tractate" with a portrait of Hadrian. Was it taken immediately after the plunge? How woe-begone the old Emperor looks! just as if he had gotten rather too much of the Ælian coal-dust! Perhaps his "comprehensive mind" was at the moment comprehending the full meaning of "tar and feathers"—those feathers with which the Doctor was going to convert him from a jackdaw into a peacock. "The height of impudence" (which cannot be classed among milk and water affairs) is often better explained by illustration than by definition. We cannot but look upon this baptism as a thing which has no parallel in the social annals of any people.

## Section 12.—Negative Testimony.

Dr. Bruce, in opening the historical part of the subject, hoists the signal of distress from the first, for he begins with a ponderous joke of very questionable propriety, enough to provoke the risible faculties of even the gravest readers. A daring spirit is not soon daunted when once it has decided on a great undertaking. Great men have wonderful resources of which other people never think, although how they so easily contrive to take them into their patent digester and assimilate them to their theory is a mystery which has not yet been cleared up. With an apparent profusion of becoming pride Dr. Bruce resorts to a questionable quiz upon "the Antiquary of Irthington" for having used the very common expressions—"unwarrantable liberty"—and "eminent authors"—expressions which occur in the pages of almost every writer. He then endeavours to smother him under the cushion of "*negative testimony*" in the following brief but pithy paragraph, which is a sort of begging appeal to the public—something like the big pictures over a penny-show—no guide to what is going on within. "Two eminent historians," says Dr. Bruce, "lived in the days of Severus, and wrote respecting this expedition into Britain, Dion Cassius and Herodian. Herodian professes to be an eye-witness of all he wrote, and Dion Cassius gives a very minute account of Severus' campaign in Britain. Are these writers among the witnesses whom Mr. Bell summons to vindicate for Severus the authorship of the Roman wall? They are not. Doubtless for the reason that they do not give us the slightest intimation that Severus took any part in the erection of the structure which later writers assert to be the great glory of his reign. 'It is strange,' says

Horsley, 'that neither Herodian nor Xiphiline should mention the building of a wall by Severus. Xiphiline says "that the Meatæ dwell near the wall which divides the island into two parts," but says nothing of its being built by Severus.'"

At first sight this appears to be a sweeping paragraph, in which Dr. Bruce, not improbably, expected to swallow "the bold rebuker of Irthington" whole, as patients do pills, to get as little of the taste on the palate as possible. But although the paragraph is a pretty good specimen of bellowing, yet on closer inspection it turns out only like some of those linens which are stamped "soft finish for family use." How, we may ask, could "the Antiquary of Irthington" take the "unwarrantable liberty" of summoning these authors to vindicate the claims of Severus, when, as Dr. Bruce tells us, they do not give us the slightest intimation to that effect? "The Antiquary of Irthington" was a man of too much modesty, too much reserve, too much delicacy, too much integrity, and too much management, to trespass upon the patience and good sense of his readers by any reference to authors who are silent on the subject. Mr. Bell did not quote "these eminent historians"—these favourites of Dr. Bruce, for the very best of all reasons, simply, because, according to the Doctor's own statement, there is nothing in them to be quoted. He eschewed all parasitic or exoteric references to historians, as he would have spurned a falsehood, or the juice of the garlic.

Where history is utterly dark, and dim tradition affords but a feeble and doubtful light, we might deferentially give some slight credit to negative testimony, but we would observe that, in general, negative testimony is no better than the reflected star-light on the troubled waters. So far as it is concerned, or can operate to the contrary, absolute truth may still be in the womb of elemental chaos. Negative testimony, in short, proves nothing. It is totally inadmissible as evidence, and is scouted from all judicial proceedings. We cannot infer, from the omission of certain well-known facts by certain historians, that these facts never occurred. It must be very evident to every impartial inquirer that, although neither Herodian nor Dion Cassius have actually told us that Severus built the wall, yet they might have done so if they had thought fit. We are not to infer that they could not do so, because they have not done it. The omission of any particular transaction simply proves that there has been an omission by the historian, either from oversight or some other cause, but it proves nothing more.

From negative testimony, however, we may draw an inference which Dr. Bruce probably never expected. Since those historians who flourished and wrote in the days of Hadrian, or soon after, make no mention of his building either a stone wall or a vallum, we may very properly infer (according to Dr. Bruce's own system of logic) that Hadrian never made either one or the other. Dr. Bruce may perhaps look upon these authors as a set of ninnies, and write each of them down as an ass. Their writings, notwithstanding, "do crack an egg at every step with the edge of a truth," as *Punch* says; and we shall take the "unwarrantable liberty" of giving two or three of them a passing glance.

### *Plutarch.*

The first of these authors whom we shall summon is Plutarch, who flourished during the reign of Hadrian, having died (according to some authors) about the 140th year of the Christian era, *i. e.* about two years after the death of Hadrian, and about a dozen years after the time when the wall must have been built, according to Dr. Bruce's theory. We presume it will not be a very "unwarrantable liberty" to class Plutarch in the list of "eminent authors." He is said to have derived his descent from a father, and a grandfather, both conspicuous for their learning and the fecundity of their genius. The Emperor Trajan admired his abilities, and conferred upon him some very important and honourable posts in the government. He wrote with precision and fidelity, neither misrepresenting the virtues, nor hiding the foibles of his heroes. By many he is considered to be one of the most entertaining, the most instructive and interesting of all writers of ancient history. The most esteemed of his numerous literary works are his "Lives of Illustrious Men," which contain the memoirs of a great portion of the most distinguished persons that the world had then produced. The learned Scaliger styled him "the eye of wisdom." Aulus Gellius compliments him with the highest distinction in science. Taurus calls him a man of the most consummate learning and wisdom. Petrarch frequently distinguishes him by the title of "The Great Plutarch," and Eusebius places him at the head of the Greek philosophers. It is unnecessary to produce further suffrages for his merits. It is sufficient to say that he has been praised by the best critics and the ablest writers of every time. His Lives have been translated into the language of every civilized nation, and honoured with universal approbation in every age. And yet this learned and highly-gifted Plutarch nowhere tells us in all his writings that *Hadrian built the*

*great wall.* In no single passage, however brief, does he give us "the slightest intimation" that Hadrian took any part in the erection of the structure which later writers assert to be the great glory of the reign of Severus, and which would also have been considered the great glory of Hadrian's reign if he had actually built it. In no portion of his writings do we find him devoting either his time or his talents to delineate the varied excellencies of Hadrian, whom Dr. Bruce styles "one of Rome's greatest generals." If Hadrian had really been the man whom Dr. Bruce represents him to be, there would have been an ample supply of the most remarkable incidents for a "Life of Hadrian," and he would have been one of the most illustrious of Plutarch's heroes. Plutarch, however, leaves no commemorating record whatever of this "the presiding genius of the wall." If Hadrian was "one of Rome's greatest generals," *was it likely* that Plutarch would not have seized upon the opportunity of embellishing his work with the life of so great a man, and telling us that he was the author of the "great barrier" in Britain? And if he left such an "impress of his mighty mind behind him" in Britain, was not this a fact sufficiently worthy of Plutarch's notice? Among the numerous lives which he wrote of great men, we do not find the "Life of Hadrian." He favours us with a life of Cæsar, and several of Rome's other great generals, and it appears rather strange that he should have omitted Hadrian. He even gives us the lives of Galba and Otho, Roman Emperors under whose reign (as Dr. Bruce tells us) "no advance was made in the conquest of Britain." Why should Plutarch honour such Emperors as Galba and Otho with the labours of his pen, and yet altogether pass over "the mighty Hadrian"? Is it at all probable, we may ask, that he should have wasted his time in writing "The Life of Otho," who reigned only three months, and have left the long reign of "the mighty Hadrian" unnoticed, especially when he had thus left such an "impress of his mighty mind behind him" in Britain?

### *Appian.*

Appian is another "eminent author," who flourished in, or at least soon after, the time of Hadrian, for in two passages he speaks of Hadrian as no longer alive. Appian wrote a series of histories of all nations that had been conquered by the Romans, and gave a continuous account of all their several relations with Rome. His long professional residence at that city eminently qualified him for the task of making his history perfect and complete. In the different passages in his histories in which

he speaks of Britain there is not the remotest allusion to the building, or even the existence, of either wall or vallum. He speaks of Hadrian appointing governors over the provinces; of his overthrowing the city of Jerusalem; and of his searching for, and discovering the Tomb of Pompey, which was covered with the sand of Egypt. These are circumstances not to be compared with the erection of the Roman Wall, but not one word is said about it.

### *Arrian.*

We must crave permission to mention Arrian, another "eminent author," whose writings have survived to the present day. He flourished in the time of Hadrian, and was called "a second Xenophon" from the elegance and sweetness of his diction. He was one of the most prolific Greek writers of the second century, having compiled a very large number of historical and philosophical works. Under Hadrian he was governor of Cappadocia, and in that capacity he wrote his "Periplus of the Euxine Sea," and addressed it to the Emperor. In his dedicatory remarks he lavishes some very fulsome compliments upon Hadrian, and shows himself a courtier of no mean pretensions. His history was written about a dozen years after the building of the stone wall, i. e. if Hadrian did build it; but Arrian does not make the slightest mention of such a fact. We may rest assured that if Hadrian had really been entitled to wear such a feather in his cap, Arrian was too skilful a courtier to have passed it over without notice. To the most casual observer it must appear strange that neither Arrian, Appian, nor Plutarch, nor any other writer of that period, mentions this mighty deed of this "mighty Hadrian." Their total silence on this point is something more than wonderful, and is apt to excite our suspicions that Hadrian was not a star of magnitude in those times.

It is unnecessary to pursue the subject of negative testimony further. In referring to these authors we have ventured to meet Dr. Bruce on the arena which he himself has chosen. We do not mean to affirm that the silence of these authors is any proof that Hadrian did not build either a wall or a vallum. We have adduced, however, sufficient to show that if the silence of Herodian and Dion Cassius is to be conclusive against the claims of Severus, then the silence of Plutarch, Appian, Arrian, and others who might be mentioned, is equally conclusive against the claims of Hadrian. On Herodian and Dion Cassius we may venture to treat more at large, examining and carefully considering what they have said, as well as what they have not said.

*Herodian.*

Herodian is styled by Dr. Bruce "an eminent historian." On this point, therefore, we need not enlarge. We would merely observe that he was a Greek historian who flourished about the year 247, i. e. somewhere about thirty or forty years after the death of Severus. Although he was a Greek, yet he was employed among the officers of the Roman Empire. He wrote a History in Eight Books of the Roman Emperors who are supposed to have reigned in his lifetime. He is generally considered too partial to some, and too severe on others ; but we are quite willing to admit that his history is in general written in a spirit of sincerity.

Dr. Bruce appears to lay some stress upon the fact that Herodian professes to be an eye-witness of all he wrote. On this point we may merely observe that if Herodian was not present when Severus built the wall, as a matter of necessity he could give us no intimation of such building. His narrative was confined to things which actually took place within his own observation. The argument, therefore, from negative testimony simply amounts to this : that Herodian was not present when the wall was built, if it was built by Severus. This, at least, appears to be the only legitimate inference to be fairly and honestly drawn from his silence on this subject.

Herodian, however, is an "eminent historian" of Dr. Bruce's own choice, and it may be interesting to examine him rather microscopically. Before doing so, however, we may remark that we might as well attempt to discover a connection and a meaning in the jerking flight of the wagtail, as in the movements of Dr. Bruce's mercury ; and yet his varied oscillations have probably a meaning, and an important one too. If we refer to page 33 of "The Roman Wall," we find him there stating that the Great Barrier of the Lower Isthmus was called by Herodian—χῶμα—*choma*. It appears, therefore, pretty plain from this passage that, in the opinion of Dr. Bruce, Herodian does mention the wall : but if we refer again to page 351 of the same work we find Dr. Bruce advancing the following statement :—"Herodian gives a detailed account of the Emperor's (Severus) proceedings in Britain, *but does not once mention the wall.*" Now, here we have made a simple record of contradictions, stated without colour, and without distortion. It is a record which cannot be traversed. In the one page Dr. Bruce says distinctly *that Herodian calls the wall* χῶμα : while in the other page he as distinctly informs

us that *Herodian does not once mention the wall.* We feel that we should be trespassing upon the patience of our readers were we to attempt to harmonize such conflicting diversities of statement—diversities by which Dr. Bruce appears to be always setting the sentiments of to-day against those of yesterday;—diversities which make him perhaps as great a puzzle to himself as to his readers;—diversities by which he is constantly sapping one side more rapidly than he can strengthen the other. We deem it quite unnecessary to attempt any analysis of arguments and inferences to be drawn from statements such as these—statements by which he thus endeavours to starch his Hadrian theory.

Dr. Bruce's assertion, however, at page 33 of "The Roman Wall"—that Herodian calls the wall, χῶμα—requires to be examined under a lens of another power, which will exhibit it in an aspect perhaps altogether unexpected by Dr. Bruce. A perusal of the History of Herodian leads us to the clear but inevitable conclusion that Herodian *does not call the wall* χῶμα. In book 3, ch. 14, we find the following passage, in which the word χῶματα—*chomata*—occurs; but not χῶμα—*choma*: and in this passage it appears to have a very different meaning from that assigned to it by Dr. Bruce. The passage is as follows:—Ὑπερβάντος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὰ προβεβλημένα ρεύματα τε καὶ χώματα τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. The passage refers to Severus setting out on his expedition into Scotland, and may be thus literally translated—"The army having passed over both the rivers *and the mounds* which were the boundaries of the dominion of the Romans."

The Greek word, χῶμα, is derived from the verb χόω, or χέω—*to pour out*—and according to our best Lexicographers means—"*a rampart or mound made by the earth dug out of the ground*"—or, in other words, an earthen rampart. The word χῶματα in this sentence (which we have just quoted, and which is the only passage to which Dr. Bruce can refer,) is in the plural number, and signifies "the ramparts or mounds made by the earth dug out of the ditches"—and if we refer to Dr. Bruce's "Topographical Description" of the vallum, we find that it consisted of three such ramparts or mounds and one ditch, but appearing in some places to have two ditches.

In this passage, then, we have Herodian—Dr. Bruce's own "eminent historian"—affirming that, when Severus set out on his expedition into Scotland, the earthen ramparts, or vallum, were the boundaries of the empire; and the inference is plain and forcible that the murus, or stone

wall, was not at that time in existence, otherwise Herodian, being "an eye-witness," would have mentioned it rather than χῶματα, or earthen ramparts; and from Spartian it is evident that Severus built his wall after he set out for Scotland, i. e. after the time here alluded to by Herodian, so that Spartian's testimony confirms the statement of Herodian.

A fair, candid, and impartial examination, therefore, of this passage, leads to the inevitable conclusion that the rivers here mentioned as the boundaries of the Roman Government were the Tyne, the Irthing, and the Eden; and that the χῶματα, or earthen ramparts, were the vallum, which consequently must have been the work of Hadrian; or, in other words, that the wall, which is said by Dr. Bruce to have been built by Hadrian, and which was the only one in existence at that time, was only an earthen wall; and that the stone wall must have been built by Severus at a subsequent period: and hence Herodian becomes unconsciously an "eminent" supporter of the claims of Severus; and his negative testimony proves to be of rather a positive character when examined by the proper test. It seems directly contrary both to reason and common sense to suppose for a moment that Herodian would have spoken of earthen ramparts, if the stone wall had then been built, which Dr. Bruce so eloquently describes as "the becoming offspring of the eternal city"—"the chief monument of Imperial power"—and "the impress of Hadrian's mighty mind." Dr. Bruce must admit that the word χῶματα is necessarily fatal to his Hadrian theory unless he can produce some proof from some "eminent author" where the word χῶματα is used to signify "stone walls." For if Herodian, who "professes to have been an eye-witness," only saw earthen mounds, it is impossible that a stone wall could have been built by Hadrian at a previous period.

Herodian nowhere asserts in direct terms that either Hadrian or Severus made either a wall or a vallum, i. e. either a stone or an earthen wall. This passage, however, proves indirectly that when Severus set out for Scotland earthen ramparts, such as have generally been ascribed to Hadrian, were then in existence as the boundaries of the empire. An important question therefore arises—by whom were these boundaries, or earthen ramparts, constructed? To this question Spartian appears to give us an answer when he tells us that Hadrian made a wall across the island *to divide the Barbarians from the Romans*, or, in other words, to be the boundaries of the Roman Government; and Herodian here confirms the statement of Spartian.

At page 13 of "The Roman Wall" Dr. Bruce gives us a translation of the passage in which this word χώματα occurs, and he renders it by the English word "*trenches.*" If Dr. Bruce can point out any single Greek lexicon in which the word is so defined, i. e. in which the word χῶμα is said to mean "a trench," instead of the mound raised by the earth thrown out of the trench, then we will readily give up the argument to be derived from this passage in favour of the claims of Severus. Besides, why should Herodian describe the great barrier as only a barrier of trenches, if it really consisted of one large stone wall, three earthen ramparts, and two ditches?

Severus was engaged in several other important wars both in the north and the east, but Herodian only alludes to them in a very brief manner, giving us little or no account of the details. His history, in fact, is very short and unsatisfactory *whenever he refers to anything out of Rome*, and is chiefly devoted to matters of a domestic nature, and to the different political intrigues. He is most diffuse in the narration of any bit of court scandal. His history of Severus in Britain is written in the very spirit of brevity. The principal part of it is a description of the country, and the customs, the habits, and the dress of the people. His expedition into Scotland, and his prosecution of the wars in that region, which extended over a period of about five years, are comprehended in a record which embraces *only about the same number of lines.* Dr. Bruce's favourite "eminent historian" sums up the whole of this important war, in which Severus is said to have lost the astounding number of fifty thousand men, in *two very short sentences.* We feel compelled to give a translation of the whole passage in which these two short sentences occur, lest our readers should suspect that we were not doing justice to Dr. Bruce's argument from negative testimony. "The army having crossed the rivers and mounds which were the boundaries of the empire, battles, and skirmishes, and the flights of the barbarians, often took place. But to these barbarians flight was easy, and they concealed themselves in the woods and the marshes, through a knowledge of the places." These two brief sentences comprise the whole narrative, from beginning to end, of the expedition of Severus into Scotland. Herodian, in fact, appears to hurry over the important events of this war in order to indulge more at large in the detail of a little piece of court scandal respecting the son of Severus attempting to bribe the physicians to poison his father. Severus died soon after, and when Herodian narrates the death—the burning of the body—the transportation of the ashes to Rome—the "lying in state" in the Campus Martius—and the funeral obsequies performed on the

occasion—then Herodian's narrative becomes more expansive, and he enters into a very long and elaborate detail of the most trifling facts and events.

Dr. Bruce informs us, at page 351 of "The Roman Wall," that Herodian gives "a detailed account of the Emperor's proceedings in Britain." A diligent examination, however, of the pages of Herodian will convince even the most sceptical that nearly the whole of "*this detailed account*" is contained in the two short sentences already quoted. We shall, however, give a few extracts which will show the real nature of the proceedings, and of the "detailed account," and the relative position which they bear to each other. Herodian tells us that Severus, after he arrived in Britain, gathered a great force together and prepared for war.....dismissed the ambassadors of the Britons who came to beg for peace.....carried on his military preparations.....took care to make bridges over the marshes.....provided every thing which might be of service to his own people, and distress the enemy. Then follow the two sentences which we have already quoted. This is really the whole substance of the *detailed account* given by Herodian of the Emperor's actual proceedings in Britain. We think, therefore, that we may very safely leave it to the "wide, wide world" to form their own deliberate judgment how far Dr. Bruce is to be considered a trustworthy exponent of the history of Herodian. To many he will no doubt appear to have a remarkable proximity of resemblance to one of those precocious children who can guide us in the dark through the most intricate windings to the cheapest ha'porth of damaged fruit.

## *Dion Cassius.*

Dion Cassius is the other "eminent historian" whom Dr. Bruce honours with the voice of his praise. He flourished about the year 230, i. e. about twenty years after the time ascribed to the building of the wall by Severus. He published in the Greek language a History of Rome, in eighty books, and is said to have spent twelve years in the composition of it. His reflections bear the stamp of learning, but by many he is considered too credulous, and too much the bigoted slave of partiality, satire, and flattery. Nearly the whole of the former part of the history is lost, and of the latter part we have only a meagre abridgment by Xiphiline, which is generally regarded as a very indifferent performance.

Some persons of a rather sceptical constitution of mind will hardly believe what they see, and very little of what they hear. Not so Dr. Bruce. He appears to be in possession of a sort of inferential machine which has the surprising property of enabling him to draw inferences and conclusions from what he neither sees nor hears. And thus, because neither Herodian nor Dion Cassius tells us who built the stone wall, the only inference which Dr. Bruce can draw from their silence is this, that Hadrian must have built it!

Dion Cassius, it is true, gives us no direct information as to Severus being the author of the wall; neither does he assert that it was built by Hadrian. Dion Cassius, however, it must be admitted, may have had the power, but not the will, to report any thing which might be so much to the credit of Severus, for Severus was probably no favourite with him. Under the Emperor Commodus, Dion Cassius lived in Rome, and held the rank of senator; but under Severus he held no public office or rank whatever, having, as is supposed by some, incurred the displeasure of Severus by his History of Commodus. Under a succeeding reign he was made Governor of Smyrna and Pergamos; and at a subsequent period Consul and pro-Consul in the Provinces of Pannonia and Africa. Besides, it must be carefully borne in mind that we have only fragments or an abridgment of the history written by Dion Cassius, and that he may have stated in some of the lost portions that the wall was built by Severus.

The free and easy jauntiness with which Dr. Bruce sometimes makes assertions is enough to astonish us. He appears to be always in possession of abundant and magnificent resources which he can make subservient to his purpose and pleasure; and thus he almost mesmerises us by his off-hand treatment of difficult subjects. At page 15 of the "Tractate" he says—"Dion Cassius gives a very minute account of Severus's campaign in Britain." He styles it "a very minute account." At first sight we might be induced to suppose that in Dion Cassius we should find a full account of all the most important and most minute particulars—nothing omitted which had the least reference to this campaign. An examination, however, of this account, as it really stands in Dion Cassius, will show that the account is really and literally (as Dr. Bruce expresses it) "very minute"—very small indeed. The account of this campaign is to be found in the 76th Book, and is comprised in three short chapters—the 11th, the 12th, and the 13th chapters. In the 11th chapter all that is said about this campaign is that "he got a prodigious mass of riches

in Britain." The 12th chapter gives a description of the island, the people, and their mode of warfare—the name of Severus being not even once mentioned in the whole chapter. In the 13th chapter we read that "Severus entered into Caledonia, where he had endless fatigues to sustain, forests to cut down, mountains to level, morasses to dry up, and bridges to build. He had no battles to fight, and saw no enemies in a body. He lost fifty thousand men there, and yet he quitted not his enterprize. He went to the extremity of the island, and made a treaty with the inhabitants by which he obliged them to relinquish a large part of their country to him." This is *the whole account* of the campaign, and well might Dr. Bruce call it a "very minute" one, although when he inserted this passage his object might perhaps be to leave a very different impression on the minds of his readers. If Dion Cassius, then, could sum up the whole account of this arduous and brilliant campaign in such "a very minute" report, we need not wonder that he did not say anything about the building of the Wall by Severus. The only instance in which Dion Cassius condescends to enter largely into the minutiæ of details respecting Britain is on the occasion of its being first invaded by Julius Cæsar. Thus Dion Cassius, so far as "very minute" accounts are concerned, instead of proving an argument against the claims of Severus, only becomes an instrument in the dethronement of Dr. Bruce's logic from the apex of its assumed supremacy.

Dr. Bruce's genius often leads him into an eccentric position. At page 15 of the "Tractate" he quotes the following passage from Xiphiline's Abridgment of Dion Cassius: "The Mæatæ dwell near the wall which divides the island into two parts." Dr. Bruce quotes this passage without giving any reference to it in the original.

On referring, however, to Dion Cassius we find that there is a word in this sentence of which Dr. Bruce gives us no translation, namely, the word—ἀντῷ—which must have a meaning, and, if we mistake not, a very important one. Was this, we may ask, straightforward in Dr Bruce? We do not assert that Dr. Bruce wilfully mutilated this passage. We disclaim all intention of insinuating that Dr. Bruce was unable to give a literal translation of the passage, if he had chosen. But this we must maintain most positively that the word—ἀντῷ—occurs in the original, and that Dr. Bruce has not noticed it in the translation which he has volunteered. The sentence in Dion Cassius is as follows: Οἰκοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν Μαιάται πρὸς ἀντῷ τῷ διατειχίσματι ὃ τὴν νῆσον διχῇ τέμνει.

When we were schoolboys—no matter whether "young adventurers in Latinity," or scraping our bow to the Grecian authors, we were not allowed to shie and bolt at the hard words. We were taught that every word had a meaning, and forced to find it out. Let us then apply the rule which was in use in our schooldays to the word—ἀυτῳ̂—in this passage.

It is well known that ancient writers were sometimes in the habit of using the dative for the possessive or genitive case of nouns; and as the word—ἀυτῳ̂—is here in the dative, it may possibly have been so used for the genitive case—ἀυτοῦ. The dative may either have been thus used for the genitive; or the word—ἀυτῳ̂—may have been inserted, through the carelessness or ignorance of some former transcriber, instead of ἀυτοῦ. In either case the passage ought to be translated—"near his wall." The word—ἀυτῳ̂—is undoubtedly a pronoun; and pronouns, according to the definitions of our best grammarians, are words used instead of nouns. The question then arises, what is the noun instead of which the pronoun—ἀυτῳ̂—or—ἀυτοῦ—is here used? It is evident that the noun must denote a man, for no other creature could have built the wall, or had any claim as to its authorship. As Dion Cassius is not speaking of Hadrian in this passage, we may presume that it does not apply to him. As, however, he is expressly speaking of Severus in this portion of his work, the inference is plain, that the pronoun—ἀυτῳ̂ (or ἀυτοῦ) is used instead of the noun "Severus"—and that the passage ought to be translated literally and properly—"near his wall"—i.e. near the wall of Severus. Hence the passage becomes a good authority in support of the claims of Severus. Besides, we must carefully bear in mind that we have only an epitome, or abridgment, of this portion of the history which was written by Dion Cassius. For anything we know to the contrary, Dion Cassius may have stated in his history (perhaps only a very few sentences before this one) that Severus built the wall, and Xiphiline in making his abridgment may, for some cause or other, have omitted this particular passage. Supposing such a statement to have been made by Dion Cassius, then the word—ἀυτῳ̂—has a clear and very important meaning, and the whole sentence will in that case admit of an easy and intelligible translation.

Dr. Bruce, in his "Roman Wall," page 14, infers from the fact of this sentence occurring in the 12th chapter, and before the account of Severus setting out for Scotland, which is narrated in the 13th chapter, that the wall must have been in existence when Severus arrived in Britain.

Dion Cassius, however, does not appear to narrate the events in their proper consecutive order, for he tells us in the 11th chapter that Severus "got a prodigious mass of riches in Britain," before he mentions any other of his proceedings, so that it would be extremely rash and hazardous to draw any such inference from the position of this passage.

Admitting, however, this principle to be a good logical principle, namely, that Severus did not build the wall, because Dion Cassius does not say that he did; then, on the same principle, we must admit also that Hadrian did not build either the wall or the vallum, because Dion Cassius does not tell us that he did; and we must also, on the same principle, admit that Hadrian was never in Britain, for Dion Cassius does not say one word about his ever being in this island. On the same principle we must maintain that the wall between the Forth and the Clyde, which is usually ascribed to Antoninus Pius, was not made by him, because Dion Cassius does not give us the least intimation of it. And on the same principle we must reject even Dr. Bruce's account of the campaigns of Claudius and Agricola, because Dion Cassius does not mention them. We suspect, however, that the principle itself, like the great bulk of Dr. Bruce's principles in his treatment of the "Ælian Hypothesis," has a screw loose about it.

## Section 13.—Early Transcribers.

Perhaps it may be of advantage to us, in our future illustrations, if we now take a glance at the mode in which the writings of ancient authors have been handed down to us, before we proceed to the consideration of the direct testimonies afforded by them.

It is tolerably well known that the incursions of the barbarous nations into the greatest part of the western provinces were extremely prejudicial to the interests of literature. During the tumultuous scenes of desolation and horror of that period, the liberal arts would have probably been entirely extinguished had they not found a place of refuge in the Monastic Institutions, where for the most part they only received a degree of culture just enough to keep them from perishing.

In each of the cathedrals, and other chief monasteries and religious

houses, schools were maintained, in which persons who had devoted themselves to the monastic life were obliged to employ a certain portion of their time in reading those ancient authors whose writings were looked upon as the repertories of wisdom. Hence arose a desire for books, and hence the formation of a library in each religious establishment; and the learned productions of former writers were copied and dispersed by the diligence of transcribers appointed for that purpose. To such an extent was this carried, that almost every monastery had its own historiographer, whose business, or at least whose general practice, it was to copy the history of preceding times from those who were already known to have written of them with success. The persons who were selected for this work were generally such monks as, by weakness of constitution, or other bodily infirmities, were rendered incapable of harder labour. To these establishments, and to these transcribers, we now owe the preservation and possession of all the ancient authors, both sacred and profane, who escaped in this manner the savage fury of the Gothic ignorance, and are happily transmitted to our times.

But these institutions, however laudable, did not always produce such happy results as might have been expected from them. From the carelessness and indolence of some of these transcribers, the ignorance and unskilfulness of others, and perhaps a little aversion to such laborious occupation in a few, errors crept into the copies which, when once introduced, were seldom afterwards corrected. Hence diligent students of the present day often meet with errors and disagreements in the existing manuscripts, which, having probably come from different religious houses, are apt to differ from each other in many important passages. Transcribers also frequently added something of their own, and abridged or omitted what they thought less interesting. Hence also we have an endless variety of interpolators and deflorators of history.

In considering, therefore, the testimonies which are afforded by ancient authors, it will be well to bear in mind the possibility of errors in the manuscripts from which the works were printed, and to make due allowance for them.

## Section 14.—Positive Testimony.

To antiquaries generally—and there are few well-informed persons at the present day who are not more or less antiquaries—direct and positive statements on any interesting subject are like the applauding flutter of angels' wings. With Dr. Bruce, however, the science of Ancient Testimony becomes a mere game of skill, to be played without any regard for principles or duties. He deals with ancient historians as if they were merely so many chessmen, and, surveying the board for an opportunity of check-mating his antagonist, he shuffles them about for the purpose with no more regard for them in themselves than as so many pieces to play his game with.

Dr. Bruce's opinion as to the evidence from direct testimony may be stated briefly thus—Spartian informs us that Hadrian built a wall, but does not say expressly of what materials it was composed. *This is the only passage to be found in the whole range of ancient historians which ascribes a wall of any kind to Hadrian.*

Spartian, however, tells us that Severus built a wall across the island from sea to sea, *and several other ancient historians assert the same.*

Dr. Bruce wishes us to consider the first statement of Spartian as good and trustworthy, and wishes us also to believe or admit that this wall was built of stone (although Spartian had not said so), and consequently that "the mighty Hadrian" was the sole author of the "Great Barrier." Dr. Bruce also wishes us to believe that the second statement of Spartian is worth nothing, and that the statements made by the other Roman historians are worth no more. Thus Dr. Bruce is ready to admit every thing on the testimony of Spartian while that testimony can be made available for the "Ælian Hypothesis"; but the moment Spartian makes a move in favour of Severus, he is no longer worthy of the least credit.

Dr. Bruce may not intend to deceive, but he is rather too much of a managing man. Historical investigation appears not to be regarded as an honourable profession with him. His strength and weakness appear to lie entirely in management. His sole aim appears to be the achievement of a triumph. Although gifted with a keen power of research he

suffers his fine faculties to be knouted into the basest subservience—absolutely worn down, in fact, like a high-mettled racer in the shafts of a dung-cart. We find him ready at any time to make a statement, and yet when the occasion arises, and the party tactics require it, he is quite ready to affirm the opposite doctrine. To arrive at the truth appears to be with him a matter of the most superlative indifference, compared with winning a move on the chess-board. We shall now proceed to apply our line and plummet in a methodical manner to the complex positions of this subtle logician.

*Historiæ Augustæ Scriptores Sex.*

Under the above title we are now in possession of a book containing the writings of a series of six Roman historians, or rather biographers, who wrote the lives of the Cæsars or Augusti, commencing with Hadrian and ending with Carinus; thus comprising a period of 167 years. The work is divided into 34 books or memoirs, and each of these generally contains the life of an Emperor. Of these books seven (not in consecutive order) were written by Ælius Spartianus; ten by Julius Capitolinus; one by Vulcatius Gallicanus; four by Ælius Lampridius; four by Trebellius Pollio; and eight by Flavius Vopiscus.

Dr. Bruce (on the authority of the article "Capitolinus" in Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography) attempts to throw cold water upon the degree of credibility which is due to the writers of the Augustan histories, and more especially to Spartian. Dr. Bruce highly approves of Spartian's testimony so long as he can use it in favour of Hadrianism, but the moment "the Antiquary of Irthington" quoted Spartian in support of Severus, then the authority and the credibility of Spartian are called in question. If Dr. Bruce turns his back upon the Augustan writers in one point, it is evident that he ought to give them up entirely. If their authority is bad in one case, it must be bad in all. If he resigns a portion, he ought to reject the whole. This is not a case in which it may be properly said—"half a loaf is better than no bread."

But what do the objections in Smith's Dictionary really amount to?—a mere nothing. Although some scrupulous people may not be able to assign "each section with absolute certainty to its real owner"—yet that can be no reasonable ground of objection to the validity of the general testimony which these memoirs afford. The objections as to "the style

of the different-portions," can at best only be looked upon as puerile and worthless, for how could we expect any uniformity of style from so many different authors? If these memoirs, as we are told in Smith's Dictionary, are "made up of scraps from different authors," how is it possible that there could be uniformity of style? If "these scraps possess different degrees of merit," we may suppose that they are correctly quoted and copied from some preceding historians. In fact, this enhances their value as a testimony, and hence the statements made in these memoirs become more worthy of credit.

With all due deference to Dr. Bruce, and the writer of the article "Capitolinus" in Smith's Dictionary, we would state that we know not of any valid objections which can be sustained *against the credibility* of the Augustan writers. There certainly have been doubts whether some, if not the whole of the works, attributed to Ælius Lampridius, ought not to be attributed to Spartian. Fabricius, in his treatise "Bibliotheca Latina," and Voss in his work "De Historicis Latinis," seem to think it not unlikely that Ælius Spartianus and Ælius Lampridius were one and the same person. But, even admitting this to be the case, it does not afford any argument *against the credibility which is due to their testimony.*

*Spartian.*

The first book or memoir of the Augustan history was written by Ælius Spartianus. It contains the life of Hadrian, and extends over nineteen pages in the edition of Casaubon—Paris.

The first passage that occurs in the life of Hadrian in which reference is made to Britain is in page 4, where Spartian says—"The Britons could not be kept under the Roman power." This is a feather in the cap of the Britons, as they were too strong, it seems, for *the policy* of even "the mighty Hadrian"—one of "Rome's greatest generals"—who, when he came into the country, left "the impress of his mighty mind" behind him in an attempt *to stop the Britons by a wall.*

The second passage respecting Britain occurs at page 8, and contains a very interesting reference to the building of the wall, or the vallum. Speaking of Hadrian, Spartian says—"Britanniam petiit: in qua multa correxit, murumque per octoginta millia passuum primus duxit, qui

barbaros Romanosque divideret,"—which passage may be thus translated: "He (Hadrian) went to Britain, in which he corrected many things, and he first drew a wall over eighty miles to divide the barbarians and the Romans."

These are the only two passages in which anything is said respecting Britain in the Life of Hadrian, and the latter passage is the only instance in which Spartian uses the word "barbaros," which can only be applied to those inhabitants who lived beyond the divisional or boundary line—the wall. Spartian makes frequent mention of other nations in the Life of Hadrian, but he styles none of them "barbaros"—barbarians.

The latter passage is a very important one, as it is the first direct testimony we know of respecting the building of the wall, and it is the only testimony which ascribes to Hadrian a wall of any materials. Spartian, in this passage, does not say in express terms whether this wall was made of sod or stone, but Dr. Bruce, after the lapse of several centuries, has the boldness to tell us that it *was made of stone*. At page 352 of "The Roman Wall," we find Dr. Bruce expressing himself thus—"Here let it be observed that, although the words *vallum* and *murus* are frequently used with a considerable degree of latitude, and are often interchanged, the term employed in this passage is that which strictly means a stone wall"; and, when referring to this passage in the "Tractate," page 17, he says—"I am not aware that this statement is in the slightest degree incorrect." Dr. Bruce, however, acts partially and unfairly in not stating that Spartian uses the same word when speaking of the wall built by Severus, so that these observations and strictures amount to nothing.

We would here observe that it sometimes happens that ancient authors themselves give us the best explanation of their own meaning when any difficulty happens to arise. Very fortunately this is the case with Spartian. If we peruse that part of the history of Spartian which immediately follows the passage already quoted, we find within the compass of a few lines what at least appears to be a full explanation of the author's meaning—a full and satisfactory account of the nature of the wall, and the materials of which it was constructed. Why, we may ask, did Dr. Bruce not quote the whole of Spartian bearing upon the question at issue? Are we to suppose that Dr. Bruce never saw the work attributed to Spartian, and that he only quoted the above passage second-hand from some preceding author?—or are we to suppose that he resorted

to a piece of trickery to gain another move on the chess-board? Both these supposed facts are unworthy of an enlightened and straightforward controversialist.

The passage in which the wall is mentioned is followed by a few lines on Hadrian's own private, domestic, and family affairs, which appear to have been of a painful nature. In a few succeeding lines we are informed that he went to Spain (after having visited Gaul) and passed the winter at Terracona; that he restored at his own cost the Temple of Augustus; and that he was attacked, but not injured, by a slave who was mad; and then follows this remarkable passage—"Per ea tempora et alias frequenter in plurimis locis, in quibus barbari non fluminibus sed limitibus dividuntur, stipitibus magnis in modum muralis sepis funditus jactis, atque connexis, barbaros separavit"—which may be thus rendered: "During these times, and often at other times, in very many places where the barbarians are divided, not by rivers (natural boundaries) but by limits (artificial boundaries), he separated the barbarians by means of large stakes driven deep into the ground and fastened together after the manner of a mural hedge."

This passage must undoubtedly have connection with, and explain the former passage. It shows, in fact, very clearly what was the nature of the wall, and its materials. It tells us in plain language that—"per ea tempora"—during these times, i. e. the times alluded to in the preceding lines after the mention of the wall, he separated the barbarians (inhabitants of Scotland from the Romans) by means of large stakes, &c. The word "barbaros" occurs in each of these passages, and forms a sort of connecting link between them, and evidently alludes to the same people. We have no record that Hadrian made any stake-hedge either in Gaul or Spain, the only places which he is said to have visited "during these times"; and there can be little doubt that if such a stake-hedge had been made by him in either country it would have been mentioned by Spartian. Camden, and others besides Camden, have considered the one passage as referring to and explaining the other.

If Hadrian's Wall had been made of stone, what necessity could there have been for any large stakes driven deep into the ground and then fastened together? If he made a wall of stone, in the first place, why should he make one of stakes after it? The thing seems a very great absurdity. Stakes might have been advantageous on the top of the vallum, or earthen bank, but could not afford any additional strength or

security to a wall of such dimensions as the "Roman Wall." Few persons, we venture to think, after seeing the whole of the passage in Spartian, will hesitate to believe that the Wall of Hadrian was at first a turf wall or vallum, and strengthened with a stout row of large stakes.

Dr. Bruce appears to lay great stress upon the length assigned to this wall by Spartian—"octoginta millia passuum"—eighty miles. At page 19 of the "Tractate" he says—"The only writer who gives the length of the wall with any thing like accuracy is Spartian, when speaking of the wall which was built by Hadrian." Spartian is here in the highest repute with Dr. Bruce. It would seem, however, that too much reliance ought not to be placed on this length of the wall given by Spartian, for we find that the ancient manuscripts do not harmonize upon this point. In one of them (the Membrana Puteani) we find the word—octo—instead of—octoginta. This error makes the length of the wall *eight miles only instead of eighty.* Puteanus is supposed to have used two Codices which were in the Vatican. He himself says that he made use of one at Venice, the gift of Pinellus, and another which he obtained out of the Vatican." If, then, the manuscripts differ so materially, much stress cannot be laid on this word—octoginta—or on any other of the statements as to its length. Besides, it is very doubtful whether the wall was really eighty miles long or not. General Roy, in his "Military Antiquities" (page 150), says that by the best surveys it is found to be seventy-five Roman miles. We may perhaps, therefore, take the safest course if we do not place too much confidence in this word—octoginta—as decisive of this question either as to the authorship of the wall, or the nature of the materials of which the first wall was made.

*Julius Capitolinus.*

The next instance in which we find Britain or a wall mentioned in the Augustan history occurs in the third book or memoir, which was written by Julius Capitolinus, and contains the life of Antoninus Pius in seven pages. Julius Capitolinus flourished about the same period as Spartian, i.e. about the year 280. In his account of the military transactions of Antoninus Pius he says that this Emperor carried on many wars by his Legates: among the rest Lollius Urbicus having subdued the Britons, likewise removed the barbarians further off by means of *another turf wall.* "Nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit, alio muro

cespititio submotis barbaris ducto." This passage is supposed to be the only one in Roman history which refers to the wall made by Antoninus Pius between the Forth and the Clyde; and is of singular use in deciding the disputed point between Hadrian and Severus. The word "alio" means *another*, and necessarily implies that there had been a wall before it. The word "cespititio" means that the wall was *of turf;* and the two words "alio cespititio"—*another turf wall*—evidently imply that the former was of turf also. The words are peculiarly expressive and emphatic. For, where was the other turf-wall, unless it was that of Hadrian? The passage clearly implies not only that this second wall was further advanced into the country, but that it was of the same nature as the first: both, therefore, must have been cespititious or formed of the materials taken from the fosse which accompanied them. The second wall was evidently only a *vallum*, or earthen mound, and yet it is called a *murus* by Capitolinus, thus affording one proof that the words *vallum* and *murus* were used promiscuously. Dr. Bruce notices this passage of Capitolinus in his book on "The Roman Wall," but *suppresses it in his controversy with Mr. Bell.* Is not this rather like prigging one of your antagonist's men from the chess-board?

### *Spartian.*

The third instance in which the wall is mentioned in the Augustan History occurs in the 10th book or memoir, which was written by Spartian, and records the life of Severus in 15 pages. At page 104 we read thus—"Britanniam (quod maximum ejus imperii decus est) muro per transversam insulam ducto, utrinque ad finem oceani munivit: unde etiam Britannici nomen accepit."—"He fortified Britain with a wall drawn across the island to the boundary of the ocean on both sides, which was the chief glory of his reign; for which also he received the name of Britannicus."

Most persons on reading these three testimonies would be apt to consider the matter quite decided, namely, that the first wall of Hadrian was one of turf (or a mural hedge) with a row of stakes on the top of it—that the second wall which was made in the reign of Antoninus Pius was another turf wall—and that the third wall of Severus was of stone, emphatically called the Roman Wall, made with stones and cement of a most durable kind. No so, however, Dr. Bruce. He waves his casuistical wand over the subject, and wishes to mystify us into the belief that

Spartian, when speaking of the first wall, meant a stone wall—that Capitolinus ought not to be received as a testimony at all—and that Spartian when he wrote the second passage, viz., that in the life of Severus, knew nothing what he was writing about.

According to Dr. Bruce, Spartian wrote about the year 280, i.e. about seventy years after the building of the wall, if it was built by Severus. As Mr. Bell observed, his statement about the wall being built by Severus would have been contradicted *by men then living*, who had themselves witnessed the building of the wall, if the statement had not been known, and universally admitted to be correct at that early period. Spartian's testimony is almost that of a contemporary historian, and is valuable in proportion: and we would also observe that, if the testimony of Spartian in favour of Severus is faulty when written seventy years after the event, his testimony regarding Hadrian must necessarily be much more faulty, since it was not written till about one hundred and seventy years after the event.

General Roy, speaking of the third wall, says—"As it is nowhere said to be *cespititious, or of turf only*, in which manner it is evident the first two were constructed, therefore it is natural to conclude that the stone wall, whose vestiges remain so conspicuous along the Isthmus between the Tyne and the Solway, was built by Severus." Dr. Bruce, however, rejects this position of the wall of Severus, but does not point out any other place where it did stand. He does not throw out even one single "minute" conjecture as to any other place where it might have been built.

Dr. Bruce, at page 353 of "The Roman Wall," raises an objection against Spartian's testimony in favour of the claims of Severus, because the length of the wall is not stated in it. We would observe, however, that Spartian makes a remarkable distinction in the two passages. In the one case he probably gives the length (80 miles) as he had heard it described by others, and in this hear-say sort of information he might very easily either make or re-echo an error. In the other case he gives a remarkable geographical distinction when he says that it was drawn to the sea on both sides of the island. The vallum (probably the first wall) only ran between Dykesfield and Newcastle, and he could not say that it was made from sea to sea; but the stone wall was made longer, and was made from sea to sea. This distinction is very interesting, and the remains of the two structures exist to this very day to confirm the statements of Spartian.

Besides the passage in Capitolinus which implies that the wall of Hadrian was of turf, there is also another passage in Spartian's Life of Severus which appears to imply that the wall and the vallum were separate and distinct structures. At page 105 we find the following expression—"Post murum apud vallum missum in Britanniâ."—"After that the wall had been drawn *at or near* the vallum in Britain."—It is evident that the wall could not properly be said to have been drawn *near the vallum*, unless the vallum had been previously in existence.

Dr. Bruce, apparently with a view of gaining another move on the chess-board, gives the following translation of this passage which is manifestly corrupt: "After the wall or vallum was completed in Britain." There is no instance in any Latin dictionary or ancient Latin author where the preposition—"apud"—means—"or"; and there is no instance in which the word—"missum"—means "completed." Dr. Bruce has no right to wrest the meaning of ancient authors, or to attempt to palm spurious and false translations either upon "young adventurers" or no-adventurers "in Latinity." Even admitting the word—"apud"—to be an error for the word—"aut—(or)—still it would only prove that the words murus and vallum were synonymous terms. To suppose the possibility of such an error is to suppose that Spartian did not know whether it was a murus or a vallum—a stone or an earthen wall—and that he used an uncertain expression in consequence. Salmasius suggested the possibility of such an error, but gave no valid grounds in support of his suggestion.

In his book on "The Roman Wall," Dr. Bruce tells us that the "testimony of Spartian in favour of Hadrian is neutralized by his testimony in favour of Severus." In the "Tractate," however, with his usual recklessness and fondness for contrarieties, he turns his back upon this statement, as a vagabond and an impostor, and with the most hardened effrontery actually tells us that—"The testimony which he bears in favour of Hadrian, is more valuable than that which he gives regarding Severus, because it is more express." It would be an absolute waste of time to attempt to reconcile such contradictory opinions; and if the great "Ælian Hypothesis" has no better foundations than such as these, the sooner we throw it away, as the dog did the bone, the better.

*Murus and Vallum.*

Before proceeding farther with the consideration of direct testimonies we may dwell awhile on the controverted words—*murus* and *vallum*. Mr. Bell says—"A cavil has been set up about the terms murus and vallum; but I should suspect few will contend that they are not synonymous terms. A murus is a vallum, and a vallum a murus. A murus may be of sods and stakes, like the wall of Hadrian; or it may be of stones, like that of Severus —so also may a vallum." Dr. Bruce, however, tries to luff this passage by the following tack. "The editor of 'The Delphin Eutropius' (says he), whose critical powers are beyond 'cavil,' in commenting upon a passage in that author, says, *muri cespititii proprie valli dicuntur* (walls of turf are properly called vallums), and in proof of his statement cites the following passage from Bede:—'Murus enim de lapidibus, vallum vero, quo ad repellendam vim hostium castra muniuntur, fit de cespitibus.' (A murus is made of stone ..... but a vallum of sods.) An opinion which has the support of such authorities cannot with propriety be denounced as false or frivolous."

If Spartian and the other Roman historians had been favouring us with a treatise on the true meaning of the words murus and vallum, they would probably have left us a similar definition of these words, and no man would have thought it either "false or frivolous." The real question, however, is not how did Bede, (who wrote three hundred years after Spartian and Capitolinus, and whose works, as Dr. Bruce informs us at page 295 of "The Roman Wall," embody very many of the errors of the period); or how did the Editor of "The Delphin Eutropius" (quite a modern production) define the words—murus and vallum—but whether Spartian and the other early historians did actually confine themselves within the limits of such a definition. It is very evident that they did not, for Spartian uses the word—"murus"—indiscriminately for the Wall of Hadrian and the Wall of Severus, and as it has never been maintained that there were two walls of stone, it must be admitted that in one of the passages the word "murus" could not be limited to such a definition; and Julius Capitolinus calls the Wall of Antoninus a "murus," and expressly tells us that it was a murus of turf, whereas, if he had limited himself to such strictures as those of Bede or the Editor of "The Delphin Eutropius," he would unquestionably have designated it a vallum at once.

The definitions and strictures adopted by Dr. Bruce place him in the

following dilemma. Spartian informs us that both Hadrian and Severus built a "murus." He applies the word "murus" to each wall. Either, then, it must have been used for an earthen wall in the one case, or two stone walls must have been built in this district. Dr. Bruce says that in the former instance it strictly means a stone wall. Will Dr. Bruce tell us what it means in the second instance? And if it does not mean a stone wall in the second instance, will Dr. Bruce tell us what it does mean? If, however, it does mean a stone wall in the second case as well as in the first, will Dr. Bruce oblige us by pointing out the locality of the two stone walls? We have the vestiges of an earthen wall, and of a stone wall, which speak with irresistible force for themselves; but there are no traces, and no traditions, of two such stone walls—a very important fact. It rests, then, with Dr. Bruce to show whether Hadrian or Severus did each build a stone wall, and where these two walls were placed, or, if he cannot do this, to admit at once in a fair, candid, manly, and straightforward manner that Spartian does in these passages use the word "murus" indiscriminately, and, consequently, that all his own arguments based on these strictures have no solid foundation.

If Hadrian built a stone wall it is very evident that there could be no necessity for Severus building another.

The word "murus" must, as a matter of course, be applied to an earthen wall in the first instance, or else Spartian is guilty of the glaring impropriety of telling us in one place that a stone wall was built by Hadrian, and in another place that it was not built by Hadrian, but by Severus. We may also presume that if Hadrian had constructed both the stone wall and the earthen wall at the same time, that Spartian would have described it as such. As, however, neither Spartian nor any other ancient author has ascribed both a murus and a vallum to Hadrian, modern philosophers and casuists may well pause before they venture to ascribe such a performance to him.

Before quitting this part of the subject we would observe that an altar was found at Kirksteads, and we believe is still in a garden at Kirkandrews-upon-Eden, with the following inscription, which apparently either sets the matter quite at rest as to the indiscriminate use of the words murus and vallum at a period long before that of Bede and the Editor of "The Delphin Eutropius"—or else, which proves that the murus and the vallum could not be contemporaneous works. The inscription is as follows:—"Lucius Junius Victorinus et Caius Ælianus

Legati Augustales Legionis VI victricis piæ fidelis ob res trans vallum prospere gestas."—(Lucius Junius Victorinus and Caius Ælianus, Augustal Legates of the 6th Legion, victorious, pious, faithful, on account of achievements beyond the wall prosperously achieved.) N.B.—This is the version of Dr. Bruce, and he actually translates the word vallum on this altar, as if it had been used in this instance for murus, for he calls it a wall. Dr. Bruce is therefore one of the first to upset his own strictures and definitions.

Now this altar is unquestionably one of the most valuable and interesting remains of the Romans, and is possibly older than either Spartian or any of the historians who mention the wall. There can be no doubt but it is older than either Bede or the Editor of that respectable work, "The Delphin Eutropius," which work appears to be so highly prized by Dr. Bruce, but which is often repudiated by first-class schoolmasters. Why, we may ask, is the word "vallum" used on this altar if the stone wall and the earthen wall were made at the same time? Why is the word "murus" not used to denote the stone wall? If the murus and the vallum (the stone wall and the earthen wall) were contemporaneous works, then the word "murus," being the more important and emphatic word, would most undoubtedly have been inscribed on this altar, if, as Dr. Bruce so confidently assures us, the words murus and vallum were never used indiscriminately for each other. Again, if they were not synonymous terms—if they were never used indiscriminately for each other, but each strictly confined to its own signification—then the only proper inference to be drawn from this altar is this, namely, that the *vallum only* was in existence at the time when this altar was raised and inscribed, and when these achievements had been prosperously performed beyond the vallum, as it is called; and that the stone wall was not in existence at all at that period—an inference which overthrows the modern "Ælian Hypothesis" at once and for ever.

We would further observe that whenever our English word "wall" is used in common conversation, we are apt to look upon it as denoting a wall made of stone, or bricks, or some similar material. Whence, we may ask, is our English word "wall" derived? We may suppose it to have been introduced into Britain by the Romans. We can perceive an easy and a ready transition of the word "vallum" into "wallum"—*wall*, or as the Britons called it, *gual*. We may conclude that "wall" took its meaning from "vallum"; and hence that the word "vallum" was sometimes at least used by the Romans to designate a stone wall.

*Eusebius Pamphilus.*

We may now proceed to the examination of the testimonies of other historians—those "eminent authors" against whom Dr. Bruce blows the blast of war, for he tells us in his "Roman Wall," page 353, that they merely "re-echo the statements of Spartian." If this, however, really be the case, it is at least a proof that they considered Spartian an eminent authority; and it is also a further proof that the statements of Spartian had not been controverted up to the time when they respectively wrote, which is a very important consideration; for if the statements of an historian are not contradicted in his own time, when they may be easily and readily confuted, it is clear that no valid objections can be made to them after a lapse of several centuries.

The first of these "eminent authors" who bears testimony in favour of Severus; and says nothing regarding Hadrian, is Eusebius Pamphilus, who is said to have been born about the year 264, i.e. about fifty years after the time assigned to the building of the wall by Severus, which cannot be considered a long time for the introduction of incorrigible errors. From Eusebius Dr. Bruce in his book on "The Roman Wall" makes the following quotation. In his "Tractate," however (for reasons best known to himself), he makes no mention of Eusebius: "Clodius Albinus being slain at Lyons, Severus made war upon the Britons, and in order to render the subject provinces more secure from barbaric invasion, he drew a wall (vallum duxit) from sea to sea, a hundred and thirty-two miles long."

In the above quotation Dr. Bruce wishes once more to catch us napping, and to steal another move on the chess-board. He does not state from what part of the writings of Eusebius the quotation is made. From the sly insertion of the words (vallum duxit) any reader not acquainted with the works of Eusebius might be induced to suppose that the works of Eusebius were composed by him in the Latin language, and that Eusebius himself had made use of the very words (vallum duxit). Such readers, however, will feel rather astonished, and perhaps rather chagrined, when they are informed that Eusebius was one of the Greek writers, and wrote in the Greek, and not in the Latin language—and consequently that Eusebius did not and could not use either the word "murus" or "vallum." The words (vallum duxit) are in fact the words of Dr. Bruce, and not the words of Eusebius at all. Such are the fictitious props which support the "Hadrian Theory"!

From this passage of Eusebius the following inferences may be drawn in support of Spartian's testimony in favour of Severus. Eusebius assigns a wall to Severus, but none to Hadrian. An earthen wall has not been assigned by any of the ancient historians to Severus. It must be admitted to be either a stone wall, or none. This passage cannot properly be called a re-echo of Spartian's statement, for it would probably be written before the time of Spartian, and Eusebius does not give the same description of its length. He states, however, that its object was to be a barrier, and not a boundary line, thus showing that in his day the Romans took the same view of the wall of Severus as they did in the time of Spartian. Dr. Bruce will some day perhaps be kind enough to inform the public why he quoted from Eusebius in his "Roman Wall," and why he omitted Eusebius in his "Tractate"—and also why he attempted to impose a Latin translation upon them.

Gale says—"Eusebius in Libello Temporum ita prodit. Severus in Britannos transfert bellum: ubi, ut receptas provincias ab incursione Barbarica faceret securiores, vallum per CXXXII M.P. a mari ad mare duxit." But then, these are the words of Gale, and not of Eusebius. Did Dr. Bruce attempt to impose Gale's translation upon us?

### *Aurelius Victor.*

This "eminent author" flourished about the year 360, and would be born only about a century after the time of Severus. If the statements of Spartian, Capitolinus, and Eusebius had been considered erroneous in his day, he would probably have pointed out the errors, and corrected them; or if their statements had ever been disputed he might have mentioned such a fact. He, however, ascribes the wall to Severus, and thus corroborates their testimony.

Dr. Bruce apparently can find only one objection to the testimony of Victor—and that is a very simple one—because it is given in the words of Spartian. In a court of equity the coincidence and agreement of testimonies is always looked upon with great respect, and is in fact regarded as essentially necessary. In the court of Dr. Bruce's logic, however, such agreement is of the most suspicious character. A comparison of the passages of Victor and Spartian (if the reader will take the trouble to compare them) will show how far they are the same, and how far Dr. Bruce's statements are to be relied on.

Aurelius Victor in Severo (Cæs, 20, 18), says—"Britanniam quæ ad ea utilis, pulsis hostibus, muro munivit per transversam insulam ducto, utrinque ad finem oceani."—"After the enemy had been repulsed, he fortified Britain, which might be useful for these purposes, with a wall drawn quite across the island, to the limits of the ocean on both sides."

It is evident from this passage that up to the time of Victor the same opinions prevailed among the literati of Rome as to Severus being the author of the wall. The same reasons as those of Spartian are assigned for its construction, and we find a similar description of its length and position. Victor calls this wall a "murus," and we can have no objection to the word murus being regarded in this passage according to the strictures of Dr. Bruce. Hadrian is nowhere mentioned by Aurelius Victor as the builder of this or any other wall.

*Victor the Younger.*

The history of Aurelius Victor was subsequently epitomized by the younger Victor. If he had erroneously ascribed the wall to Severus, instead of Hadrian, the younger Victor could very easily have rectified the error in his abridgment. As, however, he has not done so, we may presume that his opinions coincided with those already given.

In his Epitome (20, 4,) he says that Severus—"drew a vallum XXXII miles long from sea to sea." He here calls that a "vallum" which the other calls a "murus," thus showing that he considered the terms synonymous, otherwise he would not have taken any such liberty as to alter the expression. The error in the number of miles is corrected by the expression "from sea to sea," thus proving it to be merely an error of some careless transcriber. The description from "sea to sea" is very definite and expressive. It shows clearly that Victor by the word "vallum" could not mean the earthen wall, for the vestiges of the earthen wall show that it did not reach from sea to sea.

*Itinerary of Antoninus.*

We may here direct attention to a work called "The Itinerary of Antoninus," which is unquestionably one of the most valuable productions which has descended to us from the ancients. It contains a full and precise account of the Roman roads in various parts of the world. A portion of it contains a list of fifteen of these roads in Britain, with the principal stations on the route of each, and their distances. Although doubts may be entertained as to the exact period when it was composed, yet it must have been written after the building of the wall, for it mentions it more than once, and calls it a "vallum." It would have called it a "murus," if the words murus and vallum had not been synonymous. If the word vallum be used in this work according to the strict definition of Bede, the Editor of "The Delphin Eutropius," and Dr. Bruce, then the earthen wall (or vallum) must have been made before the murus (or stone wall), and consequently they cannot be contemporaneous works, as Dr. Bruce maintains; and thus, in either case, this Itinerary subverts the "Ælian Hypothesis."

*Eutropius.*

Eutropius is the next "eminent author" whose testimony supports the claims of Severus. Dr. Bruce cannot reasonably object to him being styled an "eminent author," for he had the epithet "clarissimus" (most illustrious) prefixed to his history. He is the author of a succinct history, or compendium of History of Rome, from the foundation of the city to the time of Valens, about the year 378.

Speaking of Hadrian (Lib. 8, Sect. 19,) he says—"Novissimum bellum in Britannia habuit: utque receptas provincias omni securitate muniret, vallum per XXXII millia passuum a mari ad mare deduxit."—"He had his last war in Britain: and that he might fortify the recovered provinces with all security, he drew a vallum thirty-two miles long from sea to sea."

No mention is made by Eutropius of any wall in the life of Hadrian, or in the lives of any of the succeeding Emperors, where one might have expected to meet with a chance notice of it, if it had existed. This is

the only passage in which a wall is mentioned in Eutropius. The same reason is assigned for its construction. The expression "a mari ad mare" (from sea to sea) defines its length and its position. Eutropius calls it a vallum, thus adding another proof that the word was sometimes used for a stone wall, for there can be no doubt that the stone wall was built long before the time of Eutropius.

In Eutropius we find a strong proof that little reliance can be placed on the length assigned to the wall by Spartian, for in Eutropius some of the manuscripts make the wall XXXII miles, while in others we find it to be CXXXII miles, thus showing that we ought not to trust too much to transcribers. These differences, however, may be easily reconciled. We may suppose the numeral letter L to be omitted in the one case, and hence we have XXXII instead of LXXXII—thirty-two instead of eighty-two. The other case is simply the letter C substituted for the letter L. During the Anglo-Saxon period of our history, and probably for centuries before and after it, the letter C was represented by three sides of a square, viz., the top, the bottom, and the left side, thus ⊏—while the letter L was formed by only two sides of such a square, viz., the bottom, and the left side, thus L. A mere stroke of the pen, therefore, would in a moment convert the letter L into the letter ⊏. Hence we see how easy it was for a thoughtless transcriber to write in his copy CXXXII instead of LXXXII. If an error could occur in the substitution of the word "octo" for "octoginta," well might it occur in the use of single letters. In this way we may readily account for the different lengths assigned by the different authors to the wall. It must be evident to every candid and unprejudiced inquirer that these discrepancies may all easily have arisen from the carelessness of the transcribers, and that they are not of great importance. It is much more probable that these differences have been caused by the transcribers than that the historians were all in error as to the important fact whether it was Hadrian or Severus who built the Roman Wall. Dr. Bruce, however, appears more disposed to swallow the camel than the needle, and he wishes to persuade everybody to do the same. Rather than admit the possibility of a mistake in the transcribers, he would swamp the whole line of ancient testimonies in the eddies of ignorance and falsehood. It is very evident that if there had been five hundred or five thousand historians in support of Severus, it would have been the same thing, for, according to Dr. Bruce, they would all, and each of them, merely have re-echoed the statements of the first.

*Orosius.*

This author adds another link to the chain of testimonies in support of the claims of Severus. He flourished about the commencement of the fifth century, i. e. about 200 years after Severus. He acquired a considerable degree of reputation by the history which he wrote to refute the cavils of the Pagans against Christianity, and by his books against the Pelagians and Priscillianists. Hence he was probably a careful inquirer after the truth. He was the author of an Universal History, in seven books, from the Creation to his own time. Speaking of Severus (Lib. 7, 17,) he says—"Itaque magnam fossam, firmissimumque vallum, crebris insuper turribus munitum per CXXXII M.P. a mari ad mare duxit." "He therefore drew a deep fosse and a very strong vallum strengthened with numerous towers from sea to sea over a space of CXXXII miles." Orosius thus corroborates the previous testimonies, and makes a little addition to the character of the wall by referring to the numerous towers upon it. He does not attribute the wall to Hadrian but to Severus, thus proving that down to his time Severus had been generally received as the builder of the wall.

*Notitia Imperii.*

Not long after the time of Orosius another work of Roman origin made its appearance under the title of "Notitia Imperii." Dr. Bruce says it was probably written about the end of the reign of Theodosius the younger, who died A.D. 450. It is a sort of Army List of the Roman empire. The 69th section refers to Britain. A portion of this section is headed—"Item per lineam valli"—(likewise along the line of the wall). This section could not have been so headed unless the word vallum was used and received as synonymous with the word murus. If these terms had never been interchanged, the heading of this section would have been—"Item per lineam muri." For, no matter whether Hadrian or Severus was the author of the stone wall, it was unquestionably in existence at the time when the "Notitia Imperii" was written, and would have been styled a murus in this work, if the word vallum had not been sometimes used instead of murus.

*Cassiodorus.*

About the year 520, or 300 years after the reign of Severus, Cassiodorus gives testimony similar to that of the preceding historians.

Dr. Bruce endeavours to detract from the fame of Cassiodorus, and takes a sly shot at the "Antiquary of Irthington."—"Mr. Bell (says he) is probably not aware of the meagre nature of this writer's chronicles. His history is nothing better than a chronological table, with occasional glosses."

We find, however, that Cassiodorus, whether viewed as a man of letters, an historian, or a statesman, was a person of no mean acquirements. Besides this chronicle he composed a History of the Goths, in twelve books. Twelve books of his letters are extant. He composed learned treatises upon grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geography, and astronomy. He was also the author of an Exposition of the Psalms, besides other religious books. If the reader will consult Schlosser, *Universal Historische Uebersicht*, he will find that he enjoyed a very high reputation among his contemporaries for learning, eloquence, and talent. He also displayed great mechanical ingenuity in the construction of water clocks, sun dials, &c. In fact, he was a man who may be said to have far surpassed all his contemporaries in learning and knowledge—he shone forth with the brightest lustre in the republic of letters, as a philosopher, an orator, and a divine, and both in eloquence and subtilty of genius had no superior, nor indeed any equal in this century, Boethius alone perhaps excepted. Cassiodorus, in his two books "concerning the Divine Laws," has delivered several rules for the right interpretation of the holy scriptures, which show him to be an expositor of no mean abilities, and which place him in the most eminent rank among the Latin commentators of that day. We can see no good reason why Dr. Bruce should attempt to cast a slur upon Cassiodorus, except because he bears testimony in favour of Severus rather than Hadrian.

Speaking of Severus, he says—"Severus in Britannos bellum movit, ubi receptas provincias ab incursione barbarica faceret securiores, murum per CXXXII millia passuum a mari ad mare duxit."—"Severus carried the war among the Britons, where he drew a wall (murum) 132 miles in length from sea to sea to render the recovered provinces more secure from

barbarian invasion." Chronologists are often the best authorities, and most particular in their statements. He gives a valid reason for the necessity of a second and a more secure wall, and he observes the same distinguishing longitudinal expression "from sea to sea."

Dr. Bruce says—"It could hardly be expected that he should tell us that Hadrian built the wall; for he does not even condescend to such minute particulars as to say that Hadrian came to Britain at all." With the greatest respect for Dr. Bruce's opinions we would observe that Cassiodorus knew well how to place Hadrian in his proper position. If Hadrian had built the stone wall in Britain, no doubt Cassiodorus would have noticed it. His silence on this point is only another proof that Hadrian could prefer no such claims.

Again, Dr. Bruce says—"Severus dying in Britain, his visit to it could not be overlooked." This seems one of the most puerile observations. It is evident that, if he died in Britain, he must have visited it; but this is no reason why a wall should be ascribed to him. There is a very material difference between a mere visit to Britain and the building of the Roman Wall. Cassiodorus recognized the claims of Severus. He was thoroughly convinced that Severus (and not Hadrian) was the builder of the wall, and he put "the right man in the right place."

### *Paulus Diaconus.*

This author flourished about the middle of the eighth century, and proves that even 500 years after the time of Severus the great fact had been still undisputed. Up to this time there is no appearance that the statements of Spartian had been controverted. Paulus Diaconus was the author of a "Life of Gregory the Great," and also of a "Miscellaneous History." He says—"Novissimum bellum in Britannia habuit Severus, utque receptas provincias omni securitate muniret, vallum per XXXV millia passuum a mari ad mare deduxit."—"Severus had his last war in Britain, and drew a vallum 35 miles long, from sea to sea, that he might fortify the recovered provinces with every security," thus also giving another confirmation to the statements of former annalists. Dr. Bruce says—"It was a very prudent course in him to borrow his information respecting Severus from previous writers." We would merely add that it would also have been very prudent if Dr. Bruce had been satisfied with doing the same.

*Hieronymus Surita.*

We will rivet all these clear and positive statements in support of Severus with the clenching remarks of Hieronymus Surita (quoted by Camden) who calls the Wall of Hadrian *a fence*, and tells us that this fence was carried on and completed with vast works by Septimius Severus, and had the name of vallum given to it.

*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*

Having thus found a chain of ancient testimonies in support of the authorship of Severus, *without one broken link*, we may now turn our attention to the proofs afforded by the writers of our own country.

We have a national record called the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," the authority of which is beyond all value. Although it is a work of limited dimensions, it presents us with a most extraordinary number of facts arranged chronologically, and forms a mass of history such as few (if any) nations in Europe possess. It is apparently the work of many successive hands, and extends in different copies from the time of Cæsar's invasion to the middle of the 12th century. From the antiquity of the very manuscripts of it now extant, as well as from certain allusions to events occurring in it, it is evident that the latter part of the work at least must have been written by a person or persons contemporary with the events narrated, and there is very great probability that the earlier parts of it were also of a contemporary character. It thus becomes a continued narrative written at different dates of the most important events of the English history.

The testimony of this Chronicle is in favour of Severus. The only record with which it furnishes us respecting Hadrian is, that he began to reign in such a year; but, when speaking of Severus, its detail is not so scanty. It tells us that "he went with an army into Britain, and subdued a great part of the island by battle; and then, for the protection of the Britons, he built a rampart of turf, and a broad wall thereon, from sea to sea."* If the author had known, or even heard, that Hadrian had

* The works of the Barrier appear to have consisted of two earthen ramparts (commencing from the south)—a ditch—and another earthen rampart—then the

built the wall, he would in all probability have mentioned such an important fact. From the omission respecting Hadrian, and from the statement respecting Severus, we may fairly presume that, at the time when this part of the Chronicle was written, an opinion prevailed in Britain that Severus was the author of the wall. The expression "from sea to sea" corroborates this assumption.

### *Gildas, Bede, Nennius.*

General Roy says—"The three most ancient historians who have taken any notice of the Roman Walls in this island are Gildas, Bede, and Nennius. The first of these, who wrote in the 6th century, only mentions that a wall was rebuilt by the provincial Britons after their second legation to Rome. But Bede, who wrote in the 8th century, is much more particular, clearly pointing out what wall this must have been; for he tells us that the turf wall which was repaired by the provincial Britons, after this legation to Rome, was in Scotland.....but that the stone wall made or rebuilt after the second legation was drawn between the towns, and upon the same ground where formerly Severus had raised his." As these accounts differ from the preceding historians, we must submit them to a more minute examination. Nennius says that Severus' Wall reached from the Forth and the Clyde, and that it was CXXXII miles in length. Both Bede and Nennius thus attribute a wall to Severus.

### *Gildas.*

Gildas, according to Leland, was the most ancient British historian whose writings have survived to the present day. In the middle of the 6th century he was a Monk of Bangor. Bale and Pits make him the author of several works, but it is generally considered that there is only one now extant, viz., a "Treatise on the Calamities, the Devastation, and the Conquest of Britain." Gildas has been surnamed "Sapiens," i. e. (Gildas the Wise), but we may presume that he has been so called from the religious character, rather than the accuracy of his writings. About

stone wall, and another ditch. Can the first two ramparts and the first ditch have been the works of Hadrian; and the stone wall, the second ditch, and the third rampart, the works of Severus—the third rampart having been raised by the earth dug out of the ditch of Severus? This view coincides with the statement in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and accounts for the third rampart.

one-fourth part only of his work is devoted to the History of Britain, and this part has very much of the character of an Ecclesiastical History. The remainder is merely a dissertation on the principal personages in the Bible. Polydore Virgil remarks that Gildas quotes no other book but the Bible; and it may be added that in these quotations there are great verbal variations from the Vulgate, or common authorised translation; thus showing that he probably quoted only from memory, and that too great confidence ought not to be placed in any of the assertions of this old Monk, whose history of Roman affairs appears to be quite as confused as that of Bede.

Gildas tells us that he *does not follow the writings and records of his own country*, but that he is guided *by the relations of foreign writers.* He states that the Romans imposed submission upon our island without *resistance, and reduced the unwarlike people to obedience, not so much by fire and sword, and warlike engines, but by threats alone, and menaces of judgment frowning on their countenance;*—thus betraying at once an entire ignorance of the many arduous struggles by which the Romans obtained and retained possession of the island. He then gives an account of the introduction of Christianity, and the persecutions which ensued;—and he relates a wonderful story of St. Alban the Martyr, "who opened a path across the noble river Thames, whose waters stood upright like precipices on either side." If Gildas really believed this, his powers of deglutition must have been of the most enormous calibre; and if he did not believe it, he is not worthy of credit as an historian, however much he may be approved of by Dr. Bruce.

Gildas notices none of the warlike proceedings of the Romans in Britain during the first four centuries, and makes no mention of either Hadrian or Severus, or of the conquests or operations of any other of the Roman Emperors. He passes on to *the commencement of the fifth century*, when the Britons were harassed by the Picts and Scots, and sent ambassadors to Rome with letters begging assistance. According to Gildas, a legion was sent over, *by whose advice a wall was built across the island from sea to sea, but being made of turf, instead of stone, was of no use to that foolish people.*

On the return of the legion to Rome, the Scots and Picts again devastated the country of the Britons, and ambassadors were again sent to Rome, at whose request the Romans returned and relieved them. "These, with the help of the miserable natives, built a wall *different*

*from the former, by public and private contributions, and of the same structure as walls generally, extending in a straight line from sea to sea,* between some cities, which, from fear of their enemies, had there by chance been built." In this account of the two walls Gildas differs materially from all other historians, and he betrays a deplorable ignorance on the subject. We may, however, remark that although he commits a gross error as to the times when the walls were erected, and as to the necessity of their erection, yet he agrees partly with the other accounts that the first wall, which is generally assigned to Hadrian, was made of turf; and that the other, which is assigned to Severus, was made of stone, and so far he corroborates the generally received opinion as to these walls. Besides, if Gildas is really against Severus in this account, he must also be quite as much against Hadrian, for according to his statement the wall was built by the Britons, and long after the era of either Hadrian or Severus. Supposing Gildas, however, to be in error merely as to the time when these two walls were erected, he then becomes a supporter of what has been the generally received opinion as to the erection of these two barriers, viz., the first of turf by Hadrian, the second of stone by Severus.

As an opponent of the traditions in support of Severus, Gildas appears to be in great repute with Dr. Bruce. At page 37 of the "Tractate" we read thus—"If the universal voice of the ancients is in favour of the claims of Severus, may we not expect to find those claims recognized in the earliest of our historians? Gildas, who lived before the time of Bede, knows nothing about this universally received opinion." Dr. Bruce apparently does not perceive that in his unhappy reference to Gildas, he is scarcely supping *the skimmings of the pot.* At page 24 of his "Roman Wall," Dr. Bruce flanks the opinions of Gildas, *on each side,* with the following *polite* sort of remarks—"He probably leans on the erring traditions of his own times." And again, "his statement is devoid of truth." Thus, Dr. Bruce, like the pig when swimming, is merely cutting his own throat by his observations on Gildas.

The learned differ as to the degree of credibility due to this author. Mr. Wright, in his "Biographia Britannica Literaria," says his is a name of very doubtful authority. Sharon Turner thinks that he cannot be trusted alone. Mr. Stevenson says—We are unable to speak with certainty as to his parentage, his country, or even his name, the period when he lived, or the works of which he was the author. And yet Dr. Bruce would compel every free-born Briton to place the utmost reliance upon this historian, whose statements he himself affirms to be "devoid of truth."

*Bede.*

There is an old proverb that "drowning men catch at straws." Dr. Bruce must surely have been in this predicament when he made a grab at Bede, and threw his ghost across the path of the "bold rebuker of Irthington." At page 37 of the "Tractate" Dr. Bruce says—"Bede, the most renowned of Saxon writers—who was very far from despising the traditions of the Fathers, who was born in the parish of Wallsend, and lived and died in a monastery built out of the spoils of a mural garrison—knows nothing of this universally received tradition; but, on the contrary, stoutly resists the notion of Severus being the author of the stone wall."

Bede lived in the beginning of the eighth century, about the commencement of that period which is generally known as "the dark ages," when even unfair means were sometimes used to corrupt the pure streams of history.

If we refer to Soames on the Anglo-Saxon church (page 91) we find him thus speaking of this old monk of Jarrow—"Bede's fame has chiefly rested, in later ages, upon his Ecclesiastical History.....A monastic author in the eighth century could hardly fail of intermingling his narrative with superstitious tales.....he presents many such indications of his profession and age. Fastidious moderns have excepted against this apparent credulity of Bede: objections have also been made to his *loose and incidental mention of secular affairs; he professed, however, only to preserve the annals of religion.*"

Lest we should appear to be too hard upon the venerable Bede, let us see what Dr. Bruce himself states respecting him, and we may presume that Dr. Bruce will make no cavil at his own statements. At page 295 of his "Roman Wall" Dr. Bruce tells us that Bede "fell in evil times, and his works embody *very many of the errors and superstitions of the period.*" And yet we find Dr. Bruce lauding him as a stout resister of the claims of Severus.

In the first chapters of Bede's History we find a meagre and confused account of Roman affairs in Britain which is seldom esteemed as of much value. One of his chief sources of information was, as he himself informs us, the historian Gildas. A brief review of a small portion of

the statements made by Bede will show at once what degree of reliance may be safely placed in him as an authority on Roman matters.

In the second chapter he informs us that Cæsar invaded Britain in the 60th year before the Incarnation of our Lord, which date, like many others in Bede, is incorrect, for other and more accurate historians ascribe this event to the year 54 before Christ. An error like this betrays great carelessness.

In the third chapter he tells us that the Emperor Claudius added to the Roman empire the Orcades which lie in the ocean beyond Britain. This statement may also be set down as a mistake, for Agricola is considered, upon the best authority, to have been the first person who subdued these northern islands.

In the fourth chapter he states that Marcus Antoninus was made Emperor in the year 156, while the correct date of his succession would have been A.D. 181. He also states that Marcus Antoninus was made Emperor together with his brother; but Dr. Giles (the great translator of Bede) tells us that "no such Emperors as the two mentioned ever reigned together."

An examination of the statements made by Bede respecting the wall or walls will show how confused is his account, and how little reliance can be placed on the assertions of this stout resister of the claims of Severus. In the fifth chapter he says that Severus, "after many great and dangerous battles, thought fit to divide that part of the island which he had recovered, not with a wall, as some imagine, but with a rampart." Now, Bede here ascribes a rampart or earthen wall to Severus, but to Hadrian he ascribes nothing—neither a stone wall, nor one of turf. In the same chapter he says—"Thus Severus drew a great ditch and strong rampart"—and he also says that it had "strong stakes of wood fixed upon its top." This description strongly resembles the works so particularly described by Spartian in his Life of Hadrian.

Bede, in this chapter, as well as elsewhere, is evidently falsely attributing to Severus that barrier which Antoninus made between the Firths of Forth and Clyde, and is not alluding at all to "the great barrier" which was made between the mouths of the Tyne and the Eden. His definitions of the words murus and vallum are also applicable to this rampart or earthen wall.

Bede renders his account of the barriers still more confused in the twelfth chapter, where he tells us that in the fifth century *the islanders* (not Severus, or Antoninus, but the islanders) made a rampart between the two bays or inlets of the Forth and the Clyde, which, he says, was of no use because it was made of sods, and not of stones, but which would necessarily be perfectly useless if Antoninus or Severus had made one before. And the confusion becomes more confused when he tells us in the same chapter that the Romans on leaving the island built a strong stone wall from sea to sea, not far from the trench of Severus—that it was built at the public and private expense, the Britons also lending their assistance—and that it was eight feet in breadth, and twelve in height. These dimensions agree with those between the Tyne and the Solway, so that Bede evidently attributes to the Romans, in the fifth century, that wall which Dr. Bruce attributes to Hadrian—but which almost all ancient historians ascribe to Severus. Dr. Bruce is quite welcome to the testimony of this "stout resister of the claims of Severus."

Archbishop Usher (preface page 43) describes Bede as a man who "stuffs out his books with some not very probable relations"—and he considers that Bede was mistaken as to Severus' wall being made of turf.

Dr. Bruce having raised the ghosts of Gildas and Bede, may now exercise his necromancy to lay them as soon and as quietly as possible.

### *Ethelwerd's Chronicle.*

Even after the time of Bede, that such restrictions as to the peculiar use of the words murus and vallum were not generally and punctually attended to at all times by the Latin writers, is further apparent from the chronicle of Ethelwerd, who flourished about the beginning of the tenth century. He is the most ancient writer we have next to Bede, and has the singular merit of having been the only Latin historian for two centuries. In the second paragraph of his first book, he mentions the "wall of Severus," and calls it a "murus"; and towards the end of the same paragraph he styles it—"fossa Severia"—"the ditch of Severus": thus showing that Bede's restrictions were perhaps nothing more than the creations of his own fancy, and were not regarded by others as of any importance or authority. Ethelwerd says nothing about Hadrian building

the wall. He takes a different view of the question from those of Gildas and Bede, from which circumstance we may infer that he repudiates their errors. He seems to put the right thing in its right place.

### *Nennius.*

Nennius is another British historian, who flourished somewhere about the same time, or soon after Ethelwerd. Gale says that he flourished A.D. 620, but is probably in error. He proves that the tradition of Severus being the author of the wall was current at that time. In his prologue he tells us that his history is composed partly from the traditions of our ancestors, partly from writings and monuments of ancient inhabitants of Britain, partly from the annals of the Romans, and the chronicles of the sacred fathers, and from the Histories of the Scots and Saxons. He twice attributes a wall to Severus, but states nothing in support of the claims of Hadrian. He puts the saddle at once on the right horse. Of Severus, he speaks thus in the 19th chapter—"Tertius fuit Severus, qui transfretavit ad Britannos, ubi receptas provincias ut ab incursione barbarica faceret tutiores, murum et aggerem a mari usque ad mare per latitudinem Britanniæ, id est, per CXXXII millia passuum deduxit, et vocatur Britannico sermone Gaaul."—"Severus was the third who passed over into Britain, where, that he might render the recovered provinces more secure from barbaric invasion, he drew a wall and a rampart through the breadth of Britain from sea to sea, CXXXII miles, and it is called in the British language, Gwal."

One of the manuscripts here adds—"The above-mentioned Severus constructed it of rude workmanship, in length CXXXII miles, i. e. from Penguaul, which village is called in Scottish Cenail, in English Peneltun, to the mouth of the Cluth and Cairpentalock, where this wall terminates, but it is of no avail." The transcriber of this manuscript evidently attributes the rampart of Antoninus to Severus, and cannot be considered authentic.

### *Asser.*

Here we may refer to the works of another Chronicler, viz., Asser, who flourished about the beginning of the 10th century. Gale says that he died A.D. 909. He apparently revives the story of Bede. In his Annals, speaking of Severus (anno 189), he says—"Receptam partem Insulæ, a cæteris indomitis gentibus, non muro, ut quidam æstiment, sed

vallo distinguendam putavit."—"He thought that the recovered part of the island was to be separated, not by a wall, as some suppose, but by a vallum." Then follows a definition of the words murus and vallum similar to that of Bede. He then proceeds—"Itaque Severus magnam fossam firmissimumque vallum crebris insuper turribus communitum a mari ad mare duxit."—"Therefore Severus drew a deep ditch and a very strong vallum, fortified with numerous towers upon it, from sea to sea." He thus ascribes a vallum, and not a murus, to Severus. This, however, is something in favour of Severus, and he says nothing about "the impress of the mighty Hadrian."

*Geoffrey of Monmouth.*

This historian, who lived about the middle of the 12th century, tells us (Bk. 5, ch. 2.) that Severus commanded a wall to be built between Deira and Albania, which was made at the common charge from sea to sea, and which for a long time hindered the approach of the enemy. This shows that, even up to the 12th century, the opinion still prevailed that Severus was the builder of a wall from sea to sea. Geoffrey nowhere states that "the mighty Hadrian left the impress of his mighty mind behind him" in the shape of a stone wall in this island. In his 12th Book, ch. 10. he says—"Cadwalla drove him (Oswald), with the rest that had given him disturbance, to the very wall which the Emperor Severus had formerly built between Britain and Scotland."

*Fordun.*

John Fordun, a priest of Merns, wrote a History of Scotland about the 12th century. His account of transactions is generally considered worthy of credit. In his "Scotichronicon" (Lib. 2, ch. 2,) he says that Cadwallus drove Oswald "usque ad murum, quem Severus Imperator olim inter Britanniam et Scotiam construxerat."—"As far as the wall, which the Emperor Severus had formerly made between Britain and Scotland." In the 7th chapter he says—"Juxta murum quem Severus extruxerat ad amnem Tynam."—"Near the wall which Severus had built to the river Tyne." And in the 32nd chapter he also says—"Latissimi valli munitione per Severum trans insulam deducti."—"Of a very broad vallum drawn by Severus across the island." He twice styles it a murus, and once a vallum.

After some references to the account of Bede, in Bk. 3, ch. 7, speaking of the wall made by the Britons, he says—"Initium vero trahit ille memoratus murus ad orientem in australi ripa fluminis Tyne ad Capricapud, quod Anglorum lingua sonat Gaitshede, ubi dudum Severus murum per vallum fieri jussit ex opposito Novi Castri, et super fluvium Esk, sed alias dicitur Scotis Wath, per sexaginta passuum millia porrectus, finem habet juxta Carlyl, ad occidentem."—"But that memorable wall has its beginning on the east, on the south bank of the river Tyne at Capricapud, which in the English language sounds Gaitshede, where Severus long ago ordered a wall to be built by the vallum opposite to Newcastle, and to the river Esk, but it is elsewhere called Scotiswath; stretching over 60 miles, it terminates near Carlyle on the west."

In Book 3, ch. 5, he distinguishes also between the wall called Grimesdike, from Grime, a Briton, who overthrew it—and the other wall where Severus's stood: and he gives a very different description of them both.

In Lib. 4, ch. 7, he says—"Itaque Severus Scotiam fossatis muris et turribus exclusit."—"Severus shut out Scotland with walls and turrets, protected with ditches."

Severus thus appears to be the first favourite with Fordun; he does not allow a single nibble to "the mighty Hadrian."

### *William of Malmesbury.*

William of Malmesbury, another writer of the twelfth century, in his treatise "De Adventu Anglorum et Regum Cantuarensium," chap. 1, attributes nothing to Hadrian, but ascribes to Severus a work which he calls—"that eminent and famous ditch."—"Severus ob provinciam ab incursione barbarorum muniendam celebrem illam et vulgatissimam fossam de mari ad mare duxit."

### *Radulphus de Diceto.*

Here we may refer to another British Chronicler, viz., Radulphus de Diceto, who, as Gale says, lived under King John, about A.D. 1210. Speaking of Severus he says—"Hic fecit vallum inter Britones et Pictos,

ubi, ut receptas provincias ab incursione Barbarica faceret securiores, magnam fossam; firmissimumque vallum, crebris etiam turribus communitum, per septem et triginta miliaria, a mari usque ad mare produxit."—"He made a vallum between the Britons and the Picts.....where he drew a great ditch, and a very strong rampart, fortified with numerous towers thirty-seven miles long, from sea to sea." He attributes this vallum or wall to Severus, but says nothing in support of the claims of Hadrian. Spartian ascribes a wall to Hadrian. It is strange, if all these historians merely re-echo the statements of Spartian, as Dr. Bruce asserts, that none of them re-echoes Spartian in this particular. Throughout the whole range of Roman and British historians, there is not a single testimony in favour of Hadrian except the one solitary passage in Spartian.

### *Ranulph Higden.*

We may also notice a passage in the Polychronicon of Ranulph Higden, a monk of Chester, who died A.D. 1362, according to Gale. Speaking of the city called Alcluid (Lib. 1. ws. de Pont. l. 3) he says that it was near where the "vallum Severi, sive murus ille famosus ad occidentem terminatur"—"the vallum of Severus or that famous wall is terminated." Higden here applies both vallum and murus to it, and is evidently mistaken as to its position. In the fourth book he tells us that the wall of Severus was not made of stone, but of turf with stakes of wood upon it. He says nothing regarding any stone wall of Hadrian which would have rendered the turf wall of Severus unnecessary. He appears to quote from Bede, whose works, as Dr. Bruce informs us, embrace very many of the errors of the period. He indirectly, however, hands down the tradition in support of Severus.

### *Richard of Cirencester.*

This British historian, who flourished towards the end of the fourteenth century, says in Bk. 2, ch. 2, that Hadrian built a wall justly wonderful—that another was built by Antoninus—and that Severus repaired the wall of Hadrian, now become ruinous, and restored it to its former perfection. Richard mentions distinctly the three walls raised by the Romans in Britain, making use of the words "murus" indiscriminately for each of them. His account of the walls of Hadrian and Severus is at variance with the preceding historians, and does not corroborate the views of Dr. Bruce, who appears not to allow to Severus any honour whatever either as to the erection or reparation of a wall.

*Joannes Major.*

This is another Scottish historian, who flourished towards the end of the fifteenth century. He attributes a wall to Severus of stones and turf, and places it, as Fordun did, between the Tyne and the Solway (De Gestis Scotorum Lib. 1, ch. 14). In chapter six he also alludes to the wall which Severus had built, but he nowhere attributes a wall to Hadrian.

*Buchanan.*

George Buchanan was another author of a History of Scotland, who flourished in the sixteenth century, having died in the year 1582. He was also the author of a celebrated treatise "De Jure Regni Apud Scotos." He was considered a man of great and various learning, and of nearly universal talent. He ascribes a wall to Severus, but erroneously places it where Grimesdike was. (Hist. Lib. 4, Rege 27. Lib. 5, R. 41). He does not ascribe any wall to Hadrian.

*Camden.*

Of the learned antiquarian Camden, who died in 1623, Dr. Bruce speaks thus—"Camden (says Mr. Bell) declines giving his opinion as to who built the wall." "Camden expresses his opinion upon this point as decisively as Mr. Bell, but not in accordance with his views."

If, however, we refer to Camden instead of the scattered extracts which are given from his work by Dr. Bruce, we find Camden stating his belief in the most positive terms that the wall of Hadrian was (as Spartian describes it) only "in fashion of a mural hedge, of large stakes fixed deep in the ground, and fastened together with wattles"; and in support of this opinion he refers to the authority of "the Scotch historian who wrote the Rota Temporum," who says—"Hadrian did first of all draw a wall of a prodigious bigness made of turfs.....with a deep ditch before it." Camden further states that Hector Boethius delivers a similar opinion in the very same words. Now, if these statements mean anything at all, they certainly must mean that Camden considered Hadrian's wall as only a turf wall.

Camden ascribes to Severus a wall across the island from the Solway Firth to Tinmouth, and quotes a great number of testimonies in support

of his opinion, not omitting even Bede. Speaking of the testimony of Bede, he says—"Bede is not willing to believe that Severus built a wall." And again, in another place he says—"One may gather from Bede that this vallum was nothing but a wall of turf." He does not say that he agrees with Bede, but he says—"*'Tis certain that vallum and murus are used promiscuously*"—thus showing his disapprobation of the restrictions of Bede as applied to these prætenturæ. Speaking of this wall of Severus he says that in British it is called "Guall-Sever"—(the wall of Severus). We have no authority for believing that the Britons, i. e. the ancient inhabitants of the country, ever called it "Guall-Hadrian."

Dr. Bruce says ("Tractate," page 36,)—"I should be sorry to throw Camden into the shade." On this point, we believe, Dr. Bruce may keep his mind perfectly at ease, as it is extremely improbable that he will ever succeed in *throwing Camden into the shade*, or in proving that Camden's opinions were in the smallest degree in favour of "the Hadrian theory."

*General Roy.*

We shall wind up this list of testimonies with the opinions of General Roy, who, in his "Military Antiquities of Great Britain," (page 93), says—"The conquered country soon after being lost, Hadrian contented himself with joining the nearest chain with a wall by way of boundary," and that "Severus built a wall of stone nearly on the same ground where Hadrian had raised his earthen vallum." In reference to a dispute among modern antiquarians as to the site of the Wall of Severus we find him speaking thus in a note at page 151. Hence the antiquaries who place Severus's Wall in England are Bede, Richard of Cirencester, Fordun, Camden, Leslie, Burton, Stillingfleet, Smith, Gordon, Horsley, and Warburton. And those who have subscribed to the opinion of its being in Scotland are Nennius, Buchanan, Usher, Tillemon, Gordon of Straloch, and Sibbald."

We have thus at great length, and with much care, traced the support to the claims of Hadrian and Severus through both the negative and positive testimonies of ancient, mediæval, and modern writers, and viewed the traditions by which these claims have been handed down to the present period, and we think we may safely leave it to our readers to form their own judgments on the matter. Dr. Bruce labours to swamp all this host of testimonies in support of Severus by

the aid of the modern champions, Hodgson, Smith, and Wright. Our readers are able to judge for themselves.

## Section 15.—Finale.

There is a growing astuteness in the literary world that cannot be hood-winked by specious inconsistency, or the unprincipled exercise of even the mightiest gifts. The critic, we would observe, cannot sacrifice his feelings and opinions on the altar of politeness—he cannot make use of mild epithets, and qualified phraseology, which would have a tendency to mystify his meaning, or make it speak two different ways like the Heathen oracle. There must be no deception—no falsehood—no contradiction—no maudlin sentimentality—and no groundless charity in his criticisms. The discipline may appear now and then of too stern a character—the sentence may sometimes appear harsh and terrible—but still, if properly weighed and examined, it will be found to be merely retributive—sanitary, if unpalatable—measured with wise exactitude to the necessities of retrievement—cruel only to be kind—just as the very offensiveness of odours is something which cannot be separated from their fertilizing properties. The criticised are made to suffer only as the instruments of being made perfect.

In the present age a mere dialectician cannot dominate—his genius, however subtle, and sharp, and indecisive, and however full of contrarieties, can only realize an unsatisfactory mission. In spite of himself he must remain a nonentity. Close inspection reveals the strata in which his opinions, good and bad, right and wrong, lie in layers together—and hence a career of instability covers him with ridicule, and leaves him without respect.

While we honour and prize our calling as a wholesome guide and critic, we shall deeply regret if through inadvertence, or ignorance, or inability, we have failed in arriving at the truth. Dr. Bruce laid it down as an important maxim that—"truth results from discussion." In this treatise we have aimed at the truth—the whole truth—and nothing but the truth. How far we have succeeded in presenting our readers with a fair and just illustration of the subject, we will now leave our readers to decide. We have placed the merits of the case before them, and upon these merits they must now form their own judgments.

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# A REPLY

TO

## DR. BRUCE'S TWO PAPERS ON THE MURAL CONTROVERSY.

THE duty now devolves upon us of making a few remarks on Two Papers, which have been read by Dr. Bruce (at the monthly meetings in February and March) before the Society of Antiquaries at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, on the subject of the Mural Controversy.

Like a man bursting with impatience to impart great things, he commences his first Paper with an endeavour to impress the members of the Society with a grand idea of his astounding importance. He compares himself to Horace, and hints that he is not unknown from the shores of the Bosphorus to the extremity of the Hyperborean regions. After venting something between a whine and a howl at the great success of our pamphlet among the mercantile community, he very graciously reminds them that he had been sharpened up "no end" by a rub on an University brick-board. He next blows a blast, as if he had been fed upon spring-chickens, on a horn almost as long as himself, "doing the unicorn," as the wags would say, about his having been elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London; and then, like a peacock flaunting his beauties in the sun, he further informs them that WE had styled him "One of the Council of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne." On this point, however, we must take the liberty of putting him "up to a wrinkle," for the sentence was, with due modesty, previously blazoned by himself on the title pages of "The Tractate," and his "Book on the Roman Wall." He next spares a few puffs to the Society to which he belongs, hoping thereby to force a warm glow of sympathy in his auditors, but on this tack he soon drifts into shallow water, and brings himself to an anchor.

To the great number of errors and inconsistencies, the constant ripple and eddy of contradictions, which we pointed out in his writings, he puts in a general plea of guilty, and offers an excuse for the weathercock propensity. As we are well aware that with some men the vivacities of life depend entirely upon *differences*, we shall not be so unmannerly as not to receive the plea and the excuse at once, freely and frankly, and to allow him full value for them, however small may be their market-quotation. We have no wish to prevent the muddy waters from depositing the sediment with which they appear to be so densely clouded, although we fear there will be no end of the process, if they are to be stirred up anew by *every fresh imaginary discovery in the wide fields of probability.*

Without wishing to be guilty of any very obtrusive impertinence, we would observe that he grounds his excuse entirely on his *increase of knowledge*, and so there is an end of the matter. It seems the natural course of things that the realities of one era should become the absurdities of another. Thus it is through all the vicissitudes of life. The love of yesterday is smothered under the flaming passion of to-day; the last-born baby is generally the greatest favourite; fresh friends shut out the memories of former ones; the nose of Mr. This is always putting out of joint the nose of

Mr. That; and thus, the mission of Severus being accomplished, he must pass away for ever, and make room for Hadrian, who is now the prop and pride of the Ælian Hypothesis. Who knows but in the course of time, through the effect of one of those fanciful combinations, the wall itself may be described as an insect, or a flower, endued with all the richness and all the brilliancy of a tropical climate! Dr. Bruce must surely look down upon the inhabitants of Newcastle in general, as well as the moss-grown antiquarians of Pons Ælii in particular, as the same unsuspicious, credulous, and easy-going people as ever—as ready to give him their boundless confidence as ever—before he ventured to entertain them with such a rhodomontade. We Cumbrians, whose intellects are perhaps softened by the zephyrs of the Western ocean, are apt to have an idea that "increase of knowledge" ought to produce a corresponding increase of accuracy. Although he pleads increase of knowledge at *the close of the work* as an excuse for the numerous contradictions with which his writings abound, yet he tells us that *his views were substantially the same at the close of the volume as at the beginning!*

Presuming that we are marines, he tells us that he went to the printer with only a small portion of his work in hand, and that the rest was written under the heavy pressure of the incessant cry of the printer's boy for more copy. What a sweeping condemnation!—uttered by himself!! of his own free will!!! outwitting his own Argus!!—What a plea to justify the countless errors, inconsistencies, and contradictions, with which he admits that his writings abound! Into what depths of moral degradation man plunges when Ambition usurps the throne of Principle! Truth, care, accuracy, memory, harmony, and all the the other requisites, which are essential to the perfection of a correct and conscientious historian, are ruthlessly cast to the winds, in order to satisfy the incessant cravings of "the printer's boy." Was ever an important history written under such circumstances before? Did historian ever offer such an apology before, and speak the truth at the same time?—An apology which would hardly suffice for a few tinkling incongruities which might be found amid the foam-bells of a work of fun and frolic. Miraculous energies, however, are sometimes developed by strange emergencies! Only fancy Dr. Bruce, raking up the musty and moth-eaten records of antiquity from the bottom of the ark, where they had been safely deposited for a better purpose, and dropping them, one by one, into the seething, bubbling cauldron of his historical foundry, and then running them off, helter-skelter, with electric rapidity, to plug the maw of the printer's boy! Eclipse, in his best days, was but a trotting-hack when compared with the prodigious agility of Dr. Bruce's nibs.

Viewing the matter, however, in every light, we cannot but look upon this prodigious statement as a bit of fudge, for, in his paper, he tells us that his *first* edition was published in January, 1851, and the *second* edition in November, 1852. How then could this latter work be written under the heavy pressure of the incessant cry of the printer's boy? Surely here was plenty of time to make corrections, and guard against other errors. We may be rather smoky in our intellectual apartments, but we are nevertheless decidedly suspicious that he is at his old trade of bolstering up one statement at the expense of another—always retreating from his previous assertion with as much regularity as if he had served an apprenticeship in a ropewalk. However, as he has expressly stated, in the plainest language, that his errors and contradictions arose from his "increase of knowledge," and *that they were afterwards forgotten by him in his eager search after fresh knowledge*, we shall say no more on this subject.

Having made his shrift, and soothed the qualms of conscience, *apparently very much to his own satisfaction*, he proceeds, in the next place, to take up a few positions which he had not occupied before, and then to make a few trifling objections to certain parts in our pamphlet, in which he fancies he finds us at fault. We shall notice the principal of these in their consecutive order.

### *Borcovicus.*

Among the many curious instances of the method by which his mind has been brought to veer from error to error, the station at Borcovicus is by no means the least important. He says—"The discovery of a gateway in the northern rampart of the station at Borcovicus has banished for ever from my mind the idea that Hadrian gave up to the enemy the region north of the wall." But why the

discovery of this particular gateway should cause such a revolution in his opinions we cannot imagine, for he tells us (page 150, "Roman Wall,") in the clearest language, that "the northern wall of the station is *on the very edge of the cliff* on which the camp is situated"; and again, at page 187, he says—"The north gate is built on the edge of the platform on which the station stands." What remarkable facilities this gateway would afford to the Roman soldiers on their march against their northern foe! Let us only for a moment imagine that we see the Roman troops drawn up inside the camp, in military array, for the purpose of aggressive warfare. Let us suppose the word of command to be given. "March" becomes the order of the day. Onwards they tramp—tramp—tramp—one file after another through the open portals of this prætorian gateway, and then, at the next step, they are precipitated over the edge of the cliff—plump—plump—plump—one after another, in regular order—into the mouths of the hungry Scots, who are waiting below, gaping and cawing, ready to receive them. Surely Dr. Bruce must have been driven to his last shift when Borcovicus was taken into favour! It was in consequence of the discovery of this gateway that he gave up the idea of the Wall being built as the limit of the Roman empire in Britain, and then, under the pressure of this important discovery, he advanced another opinion for "the object of the Wall," namely, that it was "a work under cover of which they could conveniently marshal their forces for aggressive warfare, or recover their order in case of temporary surprise." Thus the Hadrian theory, like a jerry-go-nimble, is constantly dodging and turning, and demanding all sorts of expedients for its support. Few people, who are in the smallest degree acquainted with the usual form of the Roman camps would have the least doubt as to these stations, "per lineam valli," being built according to the regular plans. Horsley, in his map, gives a plan of several of these stations along the Wall, and places a northern gateway in them, as if the thing admitted of no dispute. And so tenacious were the Romans of building according to the established rules of castrametation, that they even at this station placed a gateway on the very edge of the cliff, rather than depart from their general plan. In fact, they would as soon have thought of going to bed without their supper as of building a camp without its complement of gateways. How the peculiar position of this gateway on the very edge of the cliff, where there was a difficulty of access, affords any proof as to the ulterior object of the Wall, either in retaining or giving up the country to the northward; or how the discovery of the *one hundred* gateways which Dr. Bruce imagines to exist in the Wall; or how the different sorts of masonry found at Bremenium, twenty-two miles north of the Wall;—how these can prove the influence of Hadrian over that of Severus, or how these can have any bearing upon the great question whether Hadrian or Severus built the Wall, is a point which remains to be proved by something more satisfactory than the loose surmises of a fanciful or a mystified imagination.

### *Supporting Stations.*

Although Dr. Bruce had previously assigned so many reasons for the construction of this amazing barrier, yet he is apparently not satisfied with them, but with that facility and readiness, by which he arrives at that somerset condition usually known in domestic parlance as "upside down," and which, as he tells us, arises from his "increase of knowledge," he has once more changed his mind. Feeling probably the pressure of the absurdity of maintaining that the wall and the vallum could be said to *secure a broad belt of country* by passing through the middle of it, he now tells us, with much adroitness and pliability, that by the expression of the lower barrier he not only means the lines of the murus and the vallum as formerly, but *all the stations* to the north and the south of the Wall, for a distance of *fifteen miles*, which, without any other authority than that of his own imagination, he calls supporting stations, and which he supposes to have been built by Hadrian at the same time as the Wall, although, from the records of history, we have reason to suppose that several of them were built some time before by Agricola, and although some of them may possibly have been built after the times of Agricola and Hadrian, and even after that of Severus. What an amazing engineer this Hadrian must have been! Only think of his employing ten thousand men for ten years in making (at a great cost and when he could have little money)

two deep ditches, a stupendous stone wall, and three earthen ramparts, running "side by side," from sea to sea, with a military way in the middle, and then keeping, at a great cost, from ten to fifteen thousand troops, from year to year, to guard these structures—and all this merely for the purpose of securing a thirty miles belt of country, a great part of it moorland and waste, and all of it previously secured by the skill and the valour of Agricola! How cozy these troops would feel on their watch and ward, with the stone wall to shelter them from the northern blast, and three earthen ramparts to temper the southern breezes! And then only think how secure they would feel, knowing that Hadrian had dotted the outskirts of this belt with a few supporting stations to cool the ardour of an insurgent foe! A question, however, may be raised whether *these supporting stations* were originally built in connection with the Wall, or with the several Roman roads which traversed the district. If we look at any of the ancient maps of Roman Britain we find all the roads dotted with towns and stations. If we refer to the Itinerary of Antonine, we there find a list of fifteen roads in Britain, with the names of the towns or stations upon them, generally at the distance of about a day's march. The first of these roads crossed the Wall at Stagshaw Bank, and had the following stations with the distances: Bremenium (*High Rochester*) to Corstopitum (*Corchester near Corbridge*), xxii miles: to Vindomoram (*Ebchester*), ix miles: to Vinoviam (*Binchester*), xix miles: to Cataractonem (*Catterio*), xxii miles: to Isurium (*Aldborough*), xxiv miles: to Eboracum (*York*), xvii miles, &c. The tenth Iter crossed the wall, near its entrance into Cumberland, and had stations at Whitley Castle and Bewcastle, although Dr. Bruce has now usurped these for the Wall. The second Iter crossed the Wall at Carlisle, and had the following stations: Blatum Bulgium (*Middleby*) to Castra Exploratorum (*Netherby*), xii miles: to Luguvallum (*Carlisle*), xii miles: to Voreda (*Plumpton*), xiiii miles: and so forth to near Dover. Thus in the western portion of the Wall these stations are claimed for the roads in the Itinerary, and are not acknowledged as *supporting stations* to the Wall; and perhaps the same would be the case with the eastern district. There is a possibility, as well as a probability, that these stations would be built when these Roman roads were first made, and that might be before the Wall was constructed. Dr. Bruce entertained this view when he wrote his book on the Roman Wall, but now his "increase of knowledge" bothers him. If we refer to page 305, we find him mentioning these very roads we have enumerated, and he also mentions these particular stations as towns upon and belonging to these roads, and consequently these stations could not be supporting stations, or have any share in the great scheme of the barrier. On the design of these roads, and these stations, therefore we may conclude once more that Dr. Bruce is far from a perfect specimen of human clock work.

### *Newfangled Theory.*

He next proceeds to make some objections to our pamphlet, but it is our duty to show that in each of these objections he only "catches a crab." He says "There is one point on which, in justice to others, I would wish to put my reviewer right. He gives me the credit of being the author of the view which regards both murus and vallum as one work, and ascribes the whole to Hadrian." In this he is quite mistaken. We ascribed no such powers of invention to him. We merely stated that he had permitted his imagination to be warped by a newfangled theory, which he called the Ælian Hypothesis, but we did not say that he was the author of it. As a proof that the theory is not his own, he refers to two passages in his "Roman Wall," which he had cited from Stukeley's "Iter Boreale," to show that Stukeley advocated the same views more than a century ago. As, however, we cannot look upon Stukeley as a proper bung to stop a leak in the Ælian Hypothesis, we must take our corkscrew and draw him out of the hole into which Dr. Bruce has twisted him. If we refer to page 365 of the "Roman Wall," we find the two passages alluded to, but we also find that Stukeley there speaks distinctly of the "*wall built by Severus*," and also of "*Hadrian's wall or vallum of earth.*" Stukeley appears to fancy that the works of the wall and vallum must both have been built by Severus, and that Hadrian's vallum must have been in some other locality. This is something very different from the views which Dr. Bruce wishes us to gulp, for in his writings he

has ascribed no share of either wall or vallum to Severus, but claimed the whole for Hadrian. We would take the liberty of advising him always to rub up his memory when he refers to his own writings.

One of the leading objects of our illustrations was to show that, on the authorship of the Wall, Dr. Bruce had frequently changed his mind; and he has not only admitted this, but devotes a large portion of his first paper to corroborate our position. He even goes so far as to tell us that he once thought, and not only thought, but actually introduced what he thought into an edition of his Father's Geography, that the Wall was built, first by Agricola, again by Hadrian, and afterwards by Severus. He thus not only confirms our statement, but goes much further than we had any idea of venturing on this subject. In his second paper he tells us that in the year 1844 he was slumbering in the darkness of the Septimian theory. So far, therefore, as Dr. Bruce is concerned, the Hadrian theory must be a newfangled theory.

*The Gout of Severus.*

In reply to our note respecting the gout, he makes reference to a translation of Horsley, who might perhaps never devote a moment's consideration to the word, and its proper application in this special instance. He refers also to the adoption of the word *arthritis* into Johnson's Dictionary. This, however, may merely be a proof of the corruption of the Greek word, and nothing more. The question is not what meaning may be attached to the word by Dr. Johnson, because a dictionary of the English language, adapted to the present era, cannot always be an infallible criterion of the correct meaning of a Greek word 1600 years ago. The chief question is, whether Severus could at that time be labouring under a disease similar in its virulence to the gout of the present day. Looking with pity on the reference to an English dictionary, as an exponent of a doubtful passage in a Greek historian; and looking with the utmost contempt on translations in general, which are the bane of indolent little boys, and of ignorant big boys, we shall now venture to take up a position on higher ground. If we refer to Herodian, Lib. iii., ch. 11, we find him speaking of the infirmity of Severus thus—*συνεχῶς ὑπὸ νόσου ἐνοχλούμενον—i. e., continually afflicted with disease*, the word "sunechos" in its primary signification meaning "incessantly," or "without intermission." But the gout, as is well known, is a disease which attacks by fits and periods. Again, if we refer to Dion Cassius, Lib. 76, chs. 13 and 14, we find him alluding to this disease, and throwing some light upon this controverted point, for in each chapter he calls the disease of Severus, *ἀσθενεία, astheneia, i.e., a weakness, or, want of strength.* In the first passage he tells us that Severus was carried over nearly the whole of the enemy's country in a covered bed, *on account of his infirmity.* This surely could not be a fit of the gout. In the second passage he intimates that Severus had undergone some *operation in his feet.* Whether, then, must we be guided by the modern authority of Johnson's Dictionary, and Horsley's translation; or by Herodian and Dion Cassius, who lived at the same time as Severus, and probably knew him well? Dr. Bruce ought to have formed his acquaintance with Herodian and Dion Cassius, whom he styles "eminent authors," by a careful perusal of their writings in the original language, and not through the medium of Horsley's translation. Translations are not worth a lemon to anyone but very small schoolboys. Dr. Bruce does not hesitate to charge us with *ignorance*,—Was the charge made to hide his own?

*The Contest of Three Years.*

As to the two passages, which we cited in the two notes, from Herodian and Dion Cassius respecting a war of three years, in which he fancies he finds us "tripping," we may observe that we merely introduced the second passage from Dion Cassius by way of showing that Dr. Bruce did not agree with Dion Cassius, and that his two favourite authors did not agree with each other on this subject. Our two references are not at loggerheads, but Dr. Bruce and his two "eminent authors" are kicking the stools from under each other. We gave the second note with a view of drawing Dr. Bruce's special attention to the disagreement, and of eliciting some explanation from him. He avoids, however, taking a correct and comprehensive view of the question in his anxiety to show that we had fallen into a contradiction. After all he has perhaps only studied the histories of Herodian and Dion Cassius through the medium of a few second-hand scraps of translations, which he finds scattered

through the works of Horsley, and hence arose his inability to see the drift of our citations, and to grapple with the question. Dr. Bruce has stated that Severus came to Britain in the year 207, and carried on a contest for three years. Is Herodian his authority, we now ask; and does Herodian really state anything of the kind? There are dates, we may observe, found in Herodian and Dion Cassius, which are *not found in the context*. These dates are given on the margin, and appear to be merely additions of the editors of the respective works; at least so it is stated in the preface of each—but perhaps this is not mentioned in Horsley's translation. According to the marginal dates given in Herodian, Severus made war upon Britain in the year 207, and the events of the whole campaign are narrated under the same date: the next date being 211, the year in which he died. From these dates, then, of Herodian's editor (apparently not of Herodian himself) we must infer that the campaign was protracted from the year 207 to 211, if we rely upon the statement of Dr. Bruce. On referring to Dion Cassius we find, by the marginal date that Severus made war upon Britain in the year 208 (not 207); and under this same date we find the narrative of the whole campaign; and it is also stated that Severus compelled them to make peace with him, and give up a part of the island to him; so that this campaign must have been finished in the year 208. The next marginal date is 210, when the Britons revolted; and the next date is 211, the year of his death. We may observe that Severus may have come to Britain before the year 207, the previous marginal dates in Herodian being 205, and 204 in Dion Cassius. There is nothing mentioned in either Historian to prove that he did not come to Britain immediately, or at least soon after the events narrated under the preceding dates; and in this case he must have been in Britain, for some time, before the year 207, when Aper and Maximus were Consuls, and when the Gelt inscription was made.

The above observations are made on the authority of the marginal dates, but let us now see what may be gleaned from the context of these two historians. The last date mentioned by Herodian himself, previous to Severus' setting out for Britain, is found in Lib. 3. ch. 11, where he is speaking of the treachery and death of Plautianus, and where he says that these occurred when Plautianus was in his second Consulship, *i.e.*, in the year 203. There is nothing in the history of Herodian to prove that Severus did not come to Britain soon after these events. The last date given in the history of Dion Cassius is found in Lib. 76, ch. 1, where he speaks of the tenth year of the reign of Severus, *i.e.*, the year 202. In the fourth chapter he speaks of the death of Plautianus, which, as we know from Herodian, and from the Fasti Consulares, could not have happened before the year 203. In the 10th chapter he gives an account of the robber Bulla who infested Italy, and speaks of the event under the above date—Ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τουτῷ, *i.e.*, at this time. In the 11th chapter he says—"Severus made war upon Britain," and he gives no other date for this event. Taking, therefore, the dates found in the context of the two historians, instead of the marginal dates, we have no grounds for supposing that Severus did not come to Britain soon after the year 203, or that he was not in the Gelt *in propria persona* in the year 207, when the inscription was made on the face of the rock.

### *Inscriptions.*

Dr. Bruce next proceeds to inscriptions, on which he dilates at considerable length, but without shedding anything of importance. He frankly tells us that "we are entirely ignorant of the bearing of this part of the argument." He jumps at this conclusion, we presume, because we cannot admit the inferences which he draws from them. He alludes to four stones, some of them mere fragments, found in four consecutive mile-castles bearing the name of Hadrian, but not one of these four stones states that he was the builder of the Wall. Four blacks, we may observe, can never make one white, and even 400 slabs, simply bearing the name of Hadrian, will never be able to establish the fact that Hadrian built the Roman Wall, especially when it is borne in mind that this is contrary to all ancient testimony. Dr. Bruce must not expect to frizzle us up into a lump by charging us with ignorance as to the true nature and the full value of inscriptions. We find it profitable to trust more to our own researches than to the statements of any one whom we suspect to be biassed in favour of any particular views,

and we sometimes succeed even beyond our own expectations. If we had no other instructor than Dr. B. in the language of inscriptions, we fear we should be doomed to remain in ignorance for ever.

*Cawfields Stone.*

In our pamphlet we drew attention to a fragment found at Cawfields, on which eight letters were inscribed, viz: IMHLEAPL, from which letters Dr. Bruce inferred that it was a record of the second legion, of the Emperor Hadrian, and of Aulus Plautorius his legate; and not only a record of these, but a record also that "*the castle, and wall, were built at the same time, and by the same parties.*" He now says—"the fragment by itself would be valueless, but with two perfect inscriptions of the same kind, we can be at no loss about the interpretation." Most undoubtedly not; but we wish he had introduced a copy of these two perfect inscriptions. If he refers to the Bradley and Milking-Gap stones, his inference is purely imaginary, for *neither of these makes the slightest mention of the building of either wall or castle at the same time and by the same parties.* The only legitimate and accurate reading of the inscription on these stones is simply this—"The second legion, styled Augusta (inscribed this stone in honour of) the Emperor, Cæsar, Trajanus, Hadrianus, Aulus Plautorius Nepos, Proprætor, being his legate." The inscriptions on these two perfect specimens authorize no other inference. Any other readings are simply the readings of a fanciful imagination.

*Risingham Stone.*

Respecting the Risingham Stone he says: "If the reader of my critic's pamphlet will turn to the page of my book referred to, he will find that on the lower part of the stone *are the names* of Caracalla and Geta, the sons of Severus." Now, if we do actually turn to that page (308) instead of taking him at his word, we find him, with that peculiar facility which he possesses of effacing himself, there telling us that *some of the titles* of Caracalla appear, and that *Geta's name seems to have been erased:* so that instead of finding the names of Caracalla and Geta, as he asserts, we merely find some of the titles of Caracalla, and an erasure, where the name of Geta may perhaps have been inscribed, but most probably not. If we turn to page 287 we find an engraving of this slab, and there we find these said titles of Caracalla to be as follows:—M. AUREL. ANTONINO. PIO. This, however, is the name of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, so that these letters may denote his name, instead of the titles of Caracalla. The name is evidently inscribed for the purpose of recording the date of the repairs. The words COS. III. ET M. AUREL. ANTONINO. PIO. COS. I. AUG. can be intended for nothing more than this—"In the consulship of .... who was then consul for the third time, and of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus, who was then consul for the first time." If then we refer to the consular list we find, A.D. 140, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (COS. I.) consul for the first time, along with Antoninus Pius, who was also (COS. III.) consul for the third time. It is clear, therefore, that this slab *may have contained* the name of the Emperor, M. A. Antoninus. We do not mean to affirm that it did not contain the names of Severus and Caracalla, as they were consuls A.D. 202, but as Geta was never consul in any year along with Severus and Caracalla, it is evident that Geta's name had nothing to do here, although Dr. Bruce asserts that it had been erased. He also hints that the names of Robert de Vallibus and Gilbert Bueth may have been inscribed on the stone. These worthies lived a few hundred years after the date of the slab. The allusion betrays a gross ignorance of chronology. We have said enough to show that our suggestion is possibly right, and that his interpretation is probably wrong.

*Severus a Restorer.*

Dr. Bruce now assumes a fresh position. He says that Severus was a *restorer* of the wall built by Hadrian. Has he any authority for this assumption? None, we presume. No stone or coin has yet been found which stated that Severus restored it. The ancient testimonies are unanimous in their statement that he *built it*—not one of them says that he *restored* it. The assumption is perfectly gratuitous, and unsupported.

*Coome Crag.*

In his second paper we find a reference to our note on the Coome Crag inscription. We there stated that he had omitted the letter V before the R in the first line. He alludes to this charge, but forgets to answer it. He leaves us at

liberty to form our own conjectures. He passes over it to make an attack upon the deciphering of Mr. Maughan. His chief objection appears to arise from Mr. Maughan's "squeezing" the name of "Lucius Septimius Severus" into the space assigned him. In this objection, however, he gives himself checkmate. If we refer to his "Roman Wall," we find copies of some inscriptions with the name "squeezed" in a similar way. We find the very same contractions. And if we refer to his "Tractate," page 10, we find him urging the general use of ligatures as an argument against Mr. Bell—all a sham, as it now appears, to be set at naught when any thing could be gained by an opposite conduct. He must have looked upon his brother antiquarians as a set of "fellows stupid"—unco' stupid, when he ventured upon such an objection as this.

*Position of the Works.*

At page 46 of our pamphlet we drew attention to his statement that—"The murus almost uniformly falls in with the north rampart of the stations; the vallum with the south," and we showed that this boasted uniformity was found in only four out of the seventeen stations described by him. The expression, it will be observed, has two essential clauses—the wall must fall in with the north rampart: the vallum with the south. He now refers to Æsica, Stanwix, and Bowness as having these essential qualities, thus claiming seven out of the seventeen stations. He complains that we so often apply our microscope to his statements, but he ought to have spoken the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and then he could have set the disagreeable powers of our instrument at defiance. We must, however, crave indulgence while we once more apply our scrutinizing lenses to the statement which he has now made. His former assertion was made with a view of showing the unity of design of the two works of the barrier. Let us now see how he succeeds in maintaining his positions. If we refer to his "Roman Wall," we find, from his description of the station Æsica, that the vallum, instead of falling in with the south rampart, *passes it at the distance of a quarter of a mile.* He must know very well that Æsica does not fulfil his conditions, and that he was gulling his hearers with an attempt to impose a false statement upon their assumed ignorance and credulity. If the vallum did not fall in with the south rampart of this station, then his "unity of design" is all imaginary. The real position of these works proves that there was a want of such unity. He might imagine that he might safely refer to Stanwix and Bowness, because the stations at each of these places have been so much encroached upon by modern buildings that it is now difficult to ascertain the exact site of each. It is evident, from his description of these stations in his "Roman Wall," that the necessary vestiges are all gone.

There can be no analogy between the works of the barrier and the Newcastle and Carlisle Railway. The engineer of the Railway, besides keeping his level, would be influenced by the value of the land, the goodwill of its proprietors, the accommodation of the public, the best means of securing the traffic, and many other things which would never be taken into consideration by the engineer of the Wall. If Severus, when he commenced the Wall, found the earthen ramparts already constructed, he would have betrayed a great want of engineering skill if he had made the lines to "cross each other," instead of adopting these ramparts as a line of contravallation. Such intersections could have been attended with no advantage, and were not at all necessary for the perfection of his undertaking.

*Ancient Testimonies.*

He frankly intimates his disbelief in the authority of ancient testimonies. On this subject, therefore, we need not dwell. The task would probably be as fruitless as an attempt to remove the spots from the leopard's skin. We may observe, however, that we have taken a comprehensive view of those testimonies in our former work, and that we have there shown that ancient, medieval, and modern historians, who have mentioned the building of the Wall, have—one and all—assigned its erection to Severus. They are unanimous in their antithesis to the Hadrian theory, and therefore he treats them all with contempt. He tried to twist, and wrest, and mutilate, and alter, and make insertions in these testimonies, but finding that he cannot make them "pull" as he wishes, he calls out with duly considerate selfishness—"the grapes are sour." No wonder he turns up his nose at them, for he appears to have little or no acquaintance with

them, except what he derives from his "coaches"—Horsley's translation, and Johnson's Dictionary. Other people, however, can form their opinions as to the true worth of these testimonies.

*Plutarch.*

It is now our turn to say a few words as to the time of Plutarch's death. Dr. Bruce says, "our best authors are agreed that he died between A.D. 117 and A.D. 120." Why does he not name these best authors, and why does he not adhere to the year 119 as previously announced in the "penny trumpet"? That Plutarch could not die in the year 119 is evident from Eusebius, who speaks of him as alive in the year 120, for he tells us that "in this year the philosophers Plutarch of Chæronea, Sextus, and Agathobulus, flourished." Eusebius flourished only about a hundred years after the time of Plutarch, and his testimony must be of more value than that of the editors of the "Cyclopædia Metropolitana," a work of the present day and the only authority yet named. But what testimony does Plutarch himself afford on this point? He says that he studied philosophy under Ammonius at Delphi when Nero made his progress into Greece, *i. e.*, in the year 66. Dacier supposes that he must have been at that time 17 or 18 years of age, although from the peculiar system of the Greek schools it is not necessary for him to have been more than 10 or 12. In another place Plutarch says that he was very young when Nero entered Greece. Supposing him to have been 18 years old at that time, then he must have been born A.D. 48. If we take 48 from 140 (about the time when he died, as we previously stated) he would be only 92 years old when he died, an age by no means impossible or improbable; and in the year 119 he would be only 71, although Dr. Bruce has the assurance to say that he would then "have reached the extreme verge of the life of man." Plutarch was the preceptor of Trajan, and lived at Rome during his reign. After the death of his royal patron in A.D. 117 he left Rome, and retired to Chæronea, his native city. Here he not only entered into the priesthood, but he also acted as "commissioner of sewers and public buildings," and that this was no sinecure office is evident, for he speaks of measuring bricks and mortar, and when taunted for so doing, he replied that he did it for the good of his country. After discharging several other offices of trust in that city he at last became archon, or chief magistrate. In this retirement at Chæronea he also wrote his "Lives" by which his name has become immortal. It was impossible for him, or any other man, to have done all this and have died between the years 117 and 119. His "Lives" alone must have been a work of several years. Taking these circumstances into consideration, along with the testimony of Eusebius and Plutarch's own statements, we cannot but come to the conclusion that Lempriere is probably not far from the truth when he says that Plutarch died about A.D. 140.

If Dr. Bruce particularly wishes it, we have no objection to Plutarch, Appian, and Arrian being keeled up and placed on the shelf. We merely referred to them to show that if he cast his net into the ocean of "negative testimony," he was just as likely to draw up a stone as a fish. They have no bearing whatever on the authorship of the Wall, and we willingly turn them over to him, and then in the rollicking fulness of his nature he may be on the happiest terms with himself. He may pat himself on his own shoulder, if nobody else will do it, and say in the exuberance of his physical satisfaction—"you're a fine fellow; I like you."

*Herodian.*

He opens his Herodian battery with much careful manœuvring, but fortunately our position is beyond the reach of his squirt. To our charge that he had contradicted himself by first informing us that Herodian does not once mention the Wall, and then that he calls it "choma," he replies by skulking under the tails of Camden. "When I say that Herodian calls the wall 'choma,' I do so, not on my own authority, but Camden's." But Camden can have nothing whatever to do with the contradiction. Besides, Dr. Bruce has so altered, mutilated, and abbreviated the passage in Camden, that even the little fly on the dome of St. Paul's would have found it a very difficult matter to recognise the connection between the two passages with its microscopic eye. If he had given the passage from Camden entire, without any omission or variation, we should have been right in presuming that he had adopted it, and was willing to abide by it; how much more so, when he has altered it so as to make it appear to be

his own. We cannot but look upon this explanation as a paltry evasion. At page 60 of our pamphlet, we stated our objection to the word "chomata" being translated by the word "trenches," meaning of course "ditches," the primary signification of the word. He has entered into a very learned disquisition, of a very unnecessary length and flanked by quotations from Johnson's Dictionary, which he appears to keep in a handy place ready at any time to illustrate a difficult passage in the Greek historians. He now explains that he took the second meaning of the word "trenches," and that he intended "the earth thrown up to defend soldiers," or in other words "earthen ramparts." This is the very meaning to which we restricted the word "chomata." His explanation corroborates our former statements, and therefore we may pass it without further comment. He next tells us that "the historian wished to mark the geographical progress of the Emperor, not to describe the military strength of the country." This is merely a distinction without a difference. But granting even this, the question again obtrudes itself—why does Herodian (an eye-witness speaking with all the authority and accuracy of a geographical oracle) describe the boundaries of the empire as consisting of "earthen ramparts," if he had seen the stone wall running side by side with the ramparts from sea to sea? The question again evolves the necessary inference that the stone wall was not actually in existence at the time alluded to by Herodian, and also the further inference that it could not have been built by Hadrian. He in the next place refers, with much apparent satisfaction, to the translation of the "Monumenta Historica," where the word "chomata" is rendered by the word "fortresses." But where, or in what Greek Lexicon, we may ask, does the translator get his authority for this rendering? And why, we may again ask, does Herodian speak of rivers and "fortresses" as the boundaries, if these boundaries did in reality consist of a stone wall, three earthen walls, and two ditches, at the time spoken of? That there were fortresses in existence at the time alluded to, is beyond dispute; but these were detached, and at considerable distances from each other, and could never be intended as the boundaries of the Roman empire. If we take the word "chomata" in its literal meaning, *i. e.*, as referring to the earthen ramparts of Hadrian, then the testimony of Herodian harmonizes with all other ancient testimonies on the authorship of the Wall, but if we attach any other meaning to the word, we are at once involved in the troubled waters of perplexity and uncertainty, and we find nothing but contradiction and absurdity. We may rest assured that Herodian would never have mentioned the rivers and fortresses as the boundaries of the empire if he had ever seen the Roman Wall. Dr. Bruce asks what is all this hurly-burly about, and well he may; for this passage in Herodian has a momentum about it which bids fair to hurly-burly the Ælian Hypothesis to the winds He evidently dreads its force, otherwise he would not attempt to deluge us with quotations from Johnson's Dictionary.

*Dion Cassius.*

Dr. Bruce charges us with treating him unfairly in attributing to him a translation of Dion Cassius, which he now says was taken from Horsley. If, however, he will turn to page 52, where we commenced our remarks on "negative testimony," he will find that we there give the whole passage as he gives it, and that Horsley is there duly recognised, according to his own mode of citation. As he cited Horsley and advanced arguments from this translation, as he stated no objections to the translation, and made no reservation whatever, we concluded that he had adopted it and considered it as his own. We therefore did not consider it necessary to repeat the whole passage every time we alluded to it. We can look upon the complaint as nothing but a trick, and if we refer to his "Roman Wall," pp. 14 and 351, we there, in each of these pages, find him citing the same passage, and in neither case does he make the most remote reference to Horsley. How, then, can he turn round and say that the translation is not his, but Horsley's? He ought not to attempt to evade or discard his own acts. He takes up a position that the word αὐτὸς, in the passage to which we referred in Dion Cassius, is idiomatic, and that it signifies "the same." When we were in our very small boyhood we were instructed both from Greek grammars and lexicons that αὐτὸς, with the articles—ὁ, ἡ, τὸ—prefixed, did often signify "the same." In this passage, however, we find no trace of this article

prefixed, and consequently this interpretation is based, at the outset, on a corruption, and is in reality no better than our own suggestion. The interpretation of which we suggested the possibility rested upon the supposition of one letter being substituted for another, while his interpretation rests upon the supposition that the prepositive article is omitted. Each interpretation, therefore, proceeds upon the hypothesis that there is something faulty about the passage. By way of strengthening his interpretation he refers to a passage in the New Testament which abounds in idioms—Luke vii. 21—where the word αὐτῇ occurs. In this passage, however, the prepositive article is omitted, so that the reference is not one of the most satisfactory that might be desired. He also offers a translation of the passage, but somehow or other he finds it necessary for his purpose to translate the word αὐτῇ twice, namely, by the word "that," and by the word "same"—"in that same hour"—thus making the pronoun both demonstrative and relative. The one is obviously a redundancy. The passage is evidently not without its difficulties. He tells us that it is *correctly rendered by our translators* "in that same hour," but is he not aware that our translations differ from each other? While we find some of our translators rendering the passage thus, "in that same hour," we find others of equal authority giving it thus, "in the same hour," and in others we find the word "same" omitted, and the translation simply "at that time." The passage, therefore, by which he illustrates his position has only the effect of rendering "confusion more confused." The word αὐτὸς is one of the relative pronouns, and has generally reference to some word or thing preceding it. Let us now see how this applies to the passage in Dion Cassius—"The Mæatæ dwell near the same wall"—the same as what? nothing. There is no preceding word to which it can have the least reference. We cannot say—The Mæatæ dwell near the same wall as the Caledonians—for the Caledonians dwelt beyond the Mæatæ, and consequently near the other wall, the wall of Antoninus. Again, we cannot say—The Mæatæ dwell near the same wall as that which divides the island into two parts—for no such wall had been previously mentioned;—besides, there were two such walls that so divided it. Thus, in whatever way we try the idiom we cannot get it to apply. Again, if we take the word αὐτὸς to be some idiom peculiar to Dion Cassius, then we might suppose Dion Cassius, in his fondness for his favourite idiom, expressing himself in something like the following manner:—The *same* Mæatæ dwell near the *same* wall that divides the *same* island into the *same* two parts. It cannot be necessary to chase this idiomatic air-bubble any farther. He refers to two Latin translations of Dion Cassius, which he had hunted out in the British Museum, but it is very remarkable that neither of these translations supports his interpretation.

We may also observe that Horsley and Dr. Bruce rejected this word "same" in their translations. If we do even admit the word αὐτὸς in this passage to be simply an idiomatic redundancy, still the passage affords no proof that Hadrian built the Wall, and offers nothing against the claims of Severus, for Dion Cassius wrote his history after the time when Severus may be supposed to have built it, and consequently the passage draws no line of distinction as to its authorship. We think we have now maintained our position that no legitimate inferences can be drawn from the negative testimony of Herodian and Dion Cassius in favour of Hadrian, and against the claims of Severus.

### *Eusebius.*

To our observations on the passage—post murum apud vallum—he replies by ringing the changes upon his translations; and to our remarks upon Eusebius he does the same. He gave an English translation of a passage in Eusebius, a Greek historian, and inserted into it the Latin words "vallum duxit," and passed them off as the very words of Eusebius himself. Such an insertion was most decidedly unfair after he had made a cavil about the words *murus and vallum*. He now admits the trickery, and seeks to justify himself on the ground that a portion of the original writings of Eusebius has been lost. This, however, by no means justifies the insertion of these particular words, which had a tendency to support a particular view of the question, and which might possibly mislead a careless reader. We considered that there was a great want of fairness in the insertion, and we gave honest expression to our convictions. He winds up his remarks upon Eusebius

by again charging us *with ignorance*, but it is quite clear that we knew too much for him on this occasion. We saw through his artifice, and we exposed it.

Dr. Bruce concludes his first paper by reading a letter which he had received from Mr. Buchanan of Glasgow, who appears to be a fair sample of those one-eyed and blear-eyed prodigies which sometimes excited our astonishment in our youth. He forms his opinions on the demerits of our pamphlet, not from a perusal of the work itself, but from reading some partial remarks upon it hot from the frying-pan of the Northern Daily Express. Suffering himself to be inoculated with the virus of that Journal, he at once feels himself pitted all over like the interior of a sliced muffin, and forthwith he proceeds to squeeze out a little of the pus to grease the chops of Dr. Bruce. We cannot but congratulate the Doctor on having met with such a discriminating physician to offer him balm, and heal his fretting sores. If this gentleman be a clean sample of the members of the Antiquarian Society recently established at Glasgow, then the "Glasco bodies" have great reason to be proud of their Antiquarian mushrooms.

He winds up his second paper with a snivelling remonstrance that we make allusions to his occupation as a school master. We disclaim all intention of any attempt or wish to cast ridicule upon him on this ground, and we think the complaint comes with a bad grace from one who had so freely indulged in professional sneers at Mr. Bell. Dr. Bruce must not expect to escape scot-free on all occasions when he lights his candle to "show up" his friends. Our observations arose solely and entirely from the circumstance of his dragging himself, and his young "adventurers in Latinity," into notoriety. If that notoriety has become unpleasant, he may blame himself for it. Such retaliations are quite common, and by no means "mirabile dictu."

Having noticed every thing of the least importance in Dr. Bruce's papers, we now once more take our leave of the subject. We cannot but express our regret that his objections and observations have been so much confined to things which really had no bearing on the main question, but we presume that he acted upon the principle of kicking up a dust under the expectation that some of it would be sure to stick.

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# A MEMOIR

ON THE

# ROMAN STATION AND RUNIC CROSS

AT

# BEWCASTLE.

WITH

AN APPENDIX ON THE ROMAN INSCRIPTION ON CAEME CRAIG, AND THE RUNIC INSCRIPTION IN CARLISLE CATHEDRAL.

BY


## THE REV. JOHN MAUGHAN, A.B.,

RECTOR OF BEWCASTLE, CUMBERLAND.



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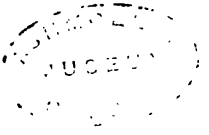

# ROMAN STATION AT BEWCASTLE.

BEWCASTLE, (from its irregular shape, something between an oval and a circle, and perhaps also from its proximity to the old British road called the Maiden Way (1), which passes it, and which was probably the Tenth Iter of the Itinerary of Antoninus,) has been considered by some to have been a Pictish or British encampment before it was occupied by the Romans. Horsley thinks that the Roman name of the Station was *Apiatorium*. Mr. Hodgson, in his History of Northumberland, supposes that it may have been Banna. I would venture to suggest that as Whitley Castle appears to be the Alionis of the Tenth Iter of the Itinerary, then Bewcastle will be the Galava (2), and Castleton the Glannaventa of the said Iter.

It is probable that Agricola as he proceeded northwards in his career of conquest would adopt the old British roads, as convenient for carrying out his plans of aggression, and that he would convert them into Roman roads as speedily and efficiently as possible (3). As his troops advanced, suitable stations would be seized upon and occupied as sites for fortresses, which would thus be placed one in advance of another, and afford mutual support to each other—Bewcastle serving as an advanced post to Whitley Castle, and Castleton taking the same position with regard to Bewcastle. The earliest period at which we can suppose that Bewcastle was thus occupied as a fortress by the Romans will be about A.D. 79; for it is generally admitted that Agricola seized upon this district and placed his garrisons here in his second campaign, *i. e.*, about A.D. 79.

The Station at Bewcastle has been placed on the nearly level surface of a low and irregularly-shaped eminence: its form has been hexagonal, but its sides are unequal. Their respective lengths are as follows:—South-west side, 108 yards; South, 78 yards; South-east, 95 yards; North-east, 125 yards; North, 146 yards; and North-west, 83 yards. The Station, therefore, would occupy about six acres of ground. The outer wall of the Station appears to have been of considerable thickness, but it is now in ruins, and covered with turf. In some places it is nearly level with the ground, but it still shows distinctly the site of the wall. It appears to have been protected by an outer rampart and a small fosse or covered way. The south side would also be defended by the steep bank of the river Kirkbeck. On the north side of the Station there are some traces of ramparts or buildings at a small distance from it, which appear to have been a *proœstrium*, or advanced post of defence. The south-east side has declined a little from its original elevation, the river having made encroachments here at different times and washed away the bottom of the bank, which is a sort of quicksand. There is a spring of excellent water on this side called the Priest's Well. On the western side there has been a kiln for drying corn, placed at the distance of sixty yards from the outer wall. Within the southern side, and nearly upon the southern wall, the new Rectory House, out-offices, and garden are placed, which were built in the year 1837; and on the north side of these are the Church, and the Churchyard, in which stands the celebrated Runic pillar. At the north-east corner of the Station is the Castle (now in ruins), and its moat; and on the northern side are the present manor house, farm buildings, and garden. The remainder of the Station is an excellent pasture. Several traces of the foundations of ancient buildings occur in every part of the Station, proving it to have been

(1) The word Maden or Madien is an old Celtic or British appellation, and signifies "raised, or elevated." Hence the term Maiden Way simply means "a raised road" or "highway."

(2) The name Galava is still retained in the district under the corrupted form of *Wulyevva* or *Wulhevva*, which was formerly applied to the valley in which Bewcastle is placed, and also the north side of the parish of Lanercost, which adjoins it. I have treated more at large on this subject in a Memoir on the Maiden Way published in the Archæological Journal, vol. 11, p. 350. 1854.

(3) As only three such roads have yet been traced crossing the Isthmus from north to south, we may suppose that Agricola divided his army into three parts; that the right wing marched northwards along the Watling Street; the left wing by Carlisle; and the centre by the Maiden Way and Bewcastle.

a place of considerable importance. Almost every grave that is made cuts through foundation walls. There are also several traces of flagging and pavements. Pieces of coal are often found, showing that they were probably acquainted with the coal mines of the district. From a stratum of ashes which is often found in the graves, about three feet below the surface, we may infer that the place has been destroyed by fire at some remote period. On the top of the hill, to the north-west, are some groundworks, connected with the Station by a raised road, which are said to have been a Hall occupied by some of the younger branches of the family settled at Bewcastle—hence the place is called the Hallhills. On the eastern and western face of this hill we find terraces, the ancient traces of cultivation. About 400 yards above the Station, on the margin of the river, is a place called the "cannon-holes," where Oliver Cromwell (perhaps erroneously) is said to have planted his cannon when he destroyed the Castle. On the south-east side of the Station, at a short distance, is a cottage called the Church-closes, where some sculptured and inscribed stones have been found. It may have formerly constituted a portion of the suburbs of the Roman city. There is a trace of the foundations of a small square building near the cottage; and there is a small embankment or raised road leading from the eastern gate of the Station in the direction of these foundations.

The camp appears to have been built according to the usual mode of Roman castrametation. The streets called the Via Principalis and the Via Quintana may be still accurately traced. The site of the prætorium, or general's quarters, is very conspicuous, being nearly in the centre of the camp, at the northwest corner of the churchyard. The foundations of most of the other buildings, according to the regular Polybian plan, are distinct. The manor-house stands on the prætorian or northern gateway. There has been an entrance on the west side from the Maiden Way, which passes the Station on this side. The position of this entrance (the left principal gateway) is very apparent, having had a small guard-house at each side. From this gateway the Via Principalis may be easily followed to the east side of the Station, where we may also trace the position of the eastern entrance, or right principal gateway, which has also been flanked by a small guard-house at each side. The decuman, or southern gateway, is not so apparent, but in the year 1840 I dug out part of the foundations of one of its guard-houses.

The Station is not destitute of its memorials and evidences of ancient occupation. Several Roman coins, rings, urns, pieces of red Samian and black pottery both plain and figured, vases, flanged tiles, bricks, oxydated iron, beads, glass, votive tablets, inscribed altars, and other relics, have been found at different periods. Several specimens of querns of various sorts have been turned up—those primitive engines for grinding meal which we find so often alluded to in the Bible, and which are shown in Antiquarian museums as things of a past age, but which may still be seen flourishing in lively use in the Faroe Islands, and some other of these northern outlandish parts of the earth. It is very curious thus to find the obsolete customs of some countries the active utilities of others. (4)

4 About twelve years since, a gold ring set with a brilliant was found in the garden hedge of the manor house, and taken possession of by the farmer's daughter. A stone, with a broad sword cut upon it, was dug out of a grave about twenty years ago, and now forms part of the door of one of the offices of the rectory house. In the same grave were also found several coins which were not preserved, and part of an old iron grate, which the blacksmith pronounced to be of the best quality that ever passed under his hammer. In another grave, in the year 1830, an iron sword about two feet in length was found, but was immediately broken into small fragments by one of the persons who found it. In the year 1840 a brass coin of Antoninus Pius was found about five or six feet beneath the surface, close to the west end of the rectory house. A silver coin of the Emperor Nerva was found a few years before near the decuman gateway. This coin of Nerva has COS. III. upon it. The date therefore is A.D. 79, and hence a strong presumption arises that Bewcastle was actually in the occupation of the Romans at that period, as before suggested. In the summer of 1855 I found in the rectory garden a small coin, apparently of Victorinus. Many other coins have been found at different periods but they have been lost. In the year 1855 a small blue bead was turned up, and a piece of lead resembling a small plummet. Portions of leaden conduit have been found formerly—also of a Mosaic floor, as stated in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 62, part 2, p. 1044. I have recently found several pieces of yellow-coloured pottery, having apparently been part of the handle, &c. of an amphora. Some of the pieces of red Samian ware have dogs and other devices marked upon them. Some of them have curiously-shaped lips or spouts for the convenience of pouring; and one of them has the maker's name "Martinus" stamped upon it—MARTINIM, *i. e.*, Martini manu, *from the hand of Martinus*. Qy.—Can the persons named "Martin" in this district be descended from this potter Martinus?

Several inscribed stones have been found at this Station. Camden says—"In the church, now almost ruinated, there lyes a grave-stone brought hither from some other place, with this inscription, "Legio secunda Augusta fecit."

LEG. II. AVG
FECIT.

Camden, it appears, was not aware at that time that this was a Roman station. On this point, however, there cannot now be a doubt. Horsley thinks that he afterwards saw the same stone in Naworth Garden—if so, it was probably removed by "Belted Will." The inference to be drawn from this inscribed stone is this—that a part of the second Legion, which was styled Augusta, was engaged in the erection of this fortress.

When Horsley visited the Station he saw an inscribed slab in the churchyard, at the head of a grave, set upright on the edge, with the remains of an inscription,

CAESRA
: : : : : : : : : :
CIIAVG ETXXVV
LICNO : : IR : : : : : :
V : : : : PRPR : : :

Horsley ventures to read it thus—

IMP. CAES. TRAIAN
HADRIAN AVG
LEG. II. AVG. ETXXVV.
SVB LICINIO PRISCO
LEG. AVG. P. R. P. R.

*i. e.* "Imperatori Cæsari Trajano Hadriano Augusto Legiones Secunda Augusta et Vicessima valens victrix sub Licinio Prisco Legato Augustali Proprætore."(5) He says—"It has been a very curious inscription, though it is now imperfect. It was found at first at the bottom of a grave, and has not been published before. The letters P. R. P. R. are plainly for Proprætore, and consequently there can be no doubt but what went before has been Leg. Aug. for Legato Augustali, though V only is now visible, the preceding letters being broken off from the stone, and the G quite effaced. The line above must therefore have contained the name of the Lieutenant. I take it to have been an honorary monument, erected to Hadrian by the Legio Secunda Augusta and the Legio Vicessima."

"I cannot find any name of a Proprætor that fully suits the letters in the inscription; but we have Priscus Licinius mentioned in the inscription in Hadrian's time, which seems to approach the nearest. The two names, Licinius and Priscus, might be inverted in an inscription, as we find names are sometimes in authors." If the stone was inscribed in honour of Hadrian, which however is not certain as the name of Hadrian is not legible on the stone, then we may infer from it that a part of the Second Legion which was styled Augusta, and a part of the Twentieth Legion which was styled Victrix Valeria (not Valens according to the List of Dion Cassius,) kept garrison at this Station at the time when the Emperor Hadrian made his very brief visit to Britain. This stone is nowhere to be seen at Bewcastle at the present day.

Hutchinson, in his History of Cumberland, p. 93, mentions a stone which he discovered over the channel at the gate of the public house yard. This would be the demesne, or manor house, of the present day.

The stone appears to have been a plain slab, and he gives the following copy of the inscription, but offers no explanation of it:—

I O M
COH I DAC : : : ·
ATIET : CENTVR
IFCIT

The first word of the third line would probably be AELLIÆ, the last two letters being tied together, as we often find two, or sometimes more letters, tied together in Roman inscriptions. It might be read thus:—Jovi optimo maximo cohortis primæ Dacorum Aelliæ Centurio fecit. "To Jupiter the best, the greatest, a Centurion of the first cohort of the Dacians styled Ællia made this." Besides the Legionary troops employed in the Roman service, there were several auxiliary cohorts of foreign troops, which not only assumed the name of the conquered province to which they belonged, but sometimes added another title, in honour of the Emperor under whom (perhaps) they enlisted, or were then serving. This cohort was then called Ællia, in honour of Hadrian, who was styled Titus

(5) It may be translated thus—"The second Legion styled Augusta, and the twentieth Legion styled Valens Victrix, under Licinius Priscus, an Augustal Legate and Proprætor (dedicated this) to the Emperor Cæsar Trajan Hadrian Augustus." N.B. Horsley's reading "Valens Victrix" is questionable—ought it not to be "Valeria Victrix"?

Ælius Hadrianus; and also Dacorum from their country, which stretched on the north of the Danube towards the Carpathian mountains, and comprehended part of Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia. The Roman army list called the Notitia places this cohort at Burdoswald (6), and several stones have been found there which mention this cohort, and as the names of nine different commanders appear on these stones, we may reasonably conclude that it must have been stationed there for a considerable period. From this Bewcastle stone we may infer that a part of this cohort must also have been stationed here, either along with the second legion, or perhaps after its removal.

Hutchinson also mentions an altar which he says "was found lately, and is in the possession of the Rev. J. D. Carlyle," who was afterwards Chancellor of the Diocese of Carlisle. It is now in the possession of Lieut.-Col. Maclean, of Lazonby. An account of it was communicated by Mr. Carlyle to the Society of Antiquaries in 1792, which was published with a representation of the altar in the "Archæologia," vol. xi., pl. vi., p. 69. He stated that it had been sent to him a few months previously, having been found in the bed of a rivulet at Bewcastle.

He supposed this altar to have been dedicated to Cocideus, a local deity, by Titus Auruncus, promoted to the rank of tribune, having been an *evocatus*, or volunteer, continuing to serve after the usual time of military service had been completed. It may be read thus:—"Sancto Cocideo Titus Auruncus felicissimus tribunus ex evocato votum sovit lubens merito." "Titus Auruncus raised to be a very happy tribune from an evocatus, or volunteer, pays his vow willingly and deservedly to the holy Cocideus."

The following representation of an altar was copied by me from a slip of paper in Mr. Howard's (7) copy of Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, with the following note—"Found at Bewcastle near the place where two others were found last Martinmas, and now, 1812, in the possession of the Curate."

It may be deciphered thus—"Deo Marti et Cocideo sancto Aelius Vitali-

(6) This word is generally written Birdoswald. I prefer Burdoswald, as given by Hutchinson. It is probably derived from the Anglo-Saxon word "burh," a borough; and hence Burdoswald, by corruption for Burhoswald, "the town of Oswald."

(7) To P. H. Howard, Esq., the present proprietor of Corby Castle, I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude for allowing me to peruse several valuable books, papers, and other documents, the property of his father, the late learned Henry Howard, Esq., throwing considerable light upon my researches, both as to the Station and the Runic cross.

anus dat dedicat lubens merito."—"Aelius Vitalianus gives and dedicates this willingly and deservedly to the God Mars and to the holy Cocideus." This is the second altar dedicated to Cocideus found at this Station. (8)

Horsley mentions another stone found at this place, with TEMPLVM distinctly upon it, but says it was then broken and destroyed. In the spring of 1852 I found the upper part of a Roman Altar, which is probably the one to which Horsley alludes. It bears the following inscription:—"Jovi Optimo Maximo Immortali Dolicheno Templum a solo pro."

It appears to have been dedicated "To Jupiter Dolichenus the best, the greatest, the immortal" on the erection of a temple, probably by the Roman workers in iron *a solo*, from the ground, *i.e.*, from the foundation; *pro salute*, for the safety of some person whose name may have been inscribed on the part of the stone now broken off, as there appear to be some vestiges of letters in the fifth line under neath. (9) Jupiter was sometimes styled Dolichenus, from Doliche, a district in Macedonia, famous for its iron. There can be no question that iron has been smelted here at some former period (probably by the Romans) as there are several heaps of slag in the district, showing where the operation has been carried on. (10)

An aged neighbour informed me that a stone covered with letters was found about sixty years since on the margin of the river near the Byer Cottage, and that it stood for a considerable period at the rectory door of the Rev. Mr. Messenger. It was afterwards carted away by this man's father to Carlisle, and, as he believed, went to Workington or Whitehaven. A stone with some sculpture in relief, but without letters, was found about thirty years since, near the same place, and is now in the wall in the Bewcastle Barn.

Such are the vestiges which have been found at different periods proving that Bewcastle was one of the garrisoned cities of the Roman. After the departure of the Roman warriors from

(8) The word Cocideus appears to be simply an abbreviation of the words Coccii Deus—the God of Coccium, which was the name of one of the Stations of the Tenth Iter of the Itinerary and supposed to be the present Lancaster. This confirms my views as to the Maiden Way and the Tenth Iter, and consequently as to Bewcastle being the Galava of the Romans. Several altars have been found elsewhere bearing the name of Cocideus, but they have all been found not far from the line of the Maiden Way. On some of these the name of Mars has been combined with Cocideus; and the name Cocideus has consequently been supposed by some to have been a local name of Mars. An altar found at Lancaster bears both names—Archæologoia, vol. xiii., p. 401. The Lysons, in their History of Cumberland, mention seven altars dedicated to Cocideus, found in Cumberland, and give the inscriptions, pp. cliii., cxlviii. Hutchinson gives a representation of one found at Burdoswald, and mentions another as remaining at Scaleby. There is one at Lanercost said to have been found at Bankshead; another is said to have been found at Howgill, about a mile from Lanercost; and another at Hardriding, near the western border of Northumberland, and not far from Burdoswald. Another was found in 1851 near Bleatarn, which is now, I believe, in the possession of the representatives of the late Robert Bell of Irthington.

(9) I sent a tracing of the letters to Dr. Bruce, who read them thus:—"Jovi Optimo Maximo Dolicheno templum a solo pro se ac suis." I also sent him a drawing of the altar, and he has given an engraving of it in his "Roman Wall," p. 378.

(10) As there have been very few stones dedicated to Jupiter Dolichenus found in England this merits the special notice of Archæologists. In Gibson's Additions to Camden (Monmouthshire) we find a representation of an altar said to have been discovered at St. Julian's, near Kaer-Leion. Mr. Gibson says—"It seems worth the enquiry of the curious upon what occasion *Jupiter* is here stiled *Dolichenus*. To me it seems probable that this altar was erected to implore his Tuition of some Iron Mines, either in the Forest of Dean, or some other place in this country. The grounds of which conjecture I take from this inscription in Reinesius: '*Jovi obtimo maximo Dolycheno, ubi ferrum nascitur, C. Sempronius Rectus, cent. frumentarius, D.D.*' For unless Caius Sempronius, who dedicates this altar *Jovi Dolycheno*, makes his request to Jupiter, that he would either direct them to find out Iron Mines, or be propitious to some they had already discovered, I cannot conjecture why he should add the words, *ubi ferrum nascitur*; which were not only superfluous, but absurd, if they imply'd no more than barely that iron-ore was found at Dolyche, a town of Macedonia, whence Jupiter was call'd *Dolychenus*." Horsley gives another altar thus inscribed, found at Benwell on the Roman Wall; and Hodgson notices another found at Risingham, another district where iron-ore abounds. These, I believe, are the only altars so inscribed found in England. "Mr. Roach Smith, in the Collectanea Antiqua, vol. 1, page 13, gives some account of this title of Jupiter in his notice of a Gallo—Roman altar, now a baptismal font in the church of Halinghen, Pas de Calais. To those antiquaries who may desire further evidence on this curious subject of Roman mythology, it may be acceptable to be informed that a detailed memoir on the *cultus* (or peculiar mode of worship) of Dolichenus has been given by M. Seidl, in the last volume of the Transactions of the Imperial Academy of Vienna (Division of History, &c., vol. xii.) The author gives six plates of altars, and enumerates sixty-eight monuments, vases, &c., bearing the name of Dolichenus."

Britain, about the beginning of the fifth century, it would most probably be re-tenanted by the inhabitants of the district, but they were not allowed to enjoy their own again for any length of time, as they were soon expelled by a colony of the Anglo-Saxon invaders, whose fortifications (before their inroads on the Roman Empire) were mere earthworks, as in their half-nomadic state they had neither means nor motive for constructing any other: but their conquest and colonization of the greater part of Roman Britain put them in possession of a more solid class of fortifications, such as this at Bewcastle: and about this period we may presume that the old British name Galava was converted into the Wulhevva of the Saxons. We have no historic records of Bewcastle during this period, but the inscriptions on the Runic obelisk yet standing in the churchyard render it something more than probable that it was a royal residence in the seventh century, for it is unquestionably a monument pointing out the burial-place of Alfrid, one of the Anglo-Saxon kings of this part of the country.

From the seventh to the eleventh century history gives us no information respecting Bewcastle. Denton, in his Manuscript, says—"I read of one Beueth, (11) a Cumberland man, about the time of the Conquest, who built Buecastle, and was lord of Buecastle Dale." Here, then, we have the origin of the Castle which occupies the north-eastern corner of the Station. (12)

This Beueth, was not only Lord of Bewcastle Dale, but also of the Barony of Gilsland, or at least of a great part of it. In short he had got almost the entire government of those parts. It appears that the first disturbance which Bueth experienced from the hands of the Norman invaders was given him by William Meschines, on whom perhaps a part of the Barony of Gilsland had been conferred, and who lay here in garrison by command of his brother, Earl Randolph, in the Conqueror's time. A part of Bueth's possessions was also subsequently bestowed upon Hubert de Vallibus. Bueth opposed the usurpation for a time, but unable to resist their claims effectually, he became a follower of Gospatric the Great. Afterwards making some attempt for the recovery of his ancient right, he was entirely dispossessed, and banished into Scotland. Bewcastle, with the Barony of Gilsland, then passed completely into the hands of Hubert de Vallibus. Bueth however was not a man to submit to wrong, for, collecting a band of followers in Scotland, he made frequent incursions into his ancient patrimony, and it is said "made the place too hot for any of Hubert Vaux's posterity, wasting all that part of the country in revenge, by frequent inroads upon the same." In the reign of Henry the First, probably about the beginning of the 12th century, Robert de Vallibus, son and heir of Hubert de Vallibus, suggested a conference with with Gilles Bueth, the only son and heir of Bueth: a meeting for agreement was appointed between them, under trust and mutual assurance of safety to each other (which meeting they called a *Tryste*); and at this meeting the treacherous de Vallibus basely slew Gilles Bueth, who was unarmed according to the terms of the Tryste. This shameful assassination put an end to the succession of the family of Bueth. To expiate this crime, and to quiet his conscience, Robert de Vallibus laid the foundation of the Abbey of Lanercost in the year 1116.

(11) This Bueth has been generally supposed to have been an Anglo-Saxon. He may, however, have been one of the band of Norwegians who appear to have settled in this district, the word being derived from the old Norse verb, *búa*, to dwell. Many local appellations are evidently of Norse and Danish extraction.

(12) This castle is a large and rude building (about eighty-seven feet square). It has been, partly at least, constructed from the stones of the Station, and has been surrounded by a deep and wide ditch. The cement with which it has been built proves it to be of an ancient construction. The south and west walls are nearly of their original height, about forty-two feet, but the north and east sides have only fragments remaining. In the south side are two windows, two fireplaces near the top, and a row of square holes in a right line for the ends of the joists, showing that this part of the castle was occupied as the residence. In many parts of the walls we find small holes contracting towards the outside, but whether they have been loopholes for shooting through, or for the discharge of refuse water, is uncertain. The entrance has been on the west side, through a small square tower, which is considered by some to have been added at a later period. It has had two doors, supported by inner bars or beams of wood sliding in cavities left in the wall for the purpose; and the inner door has been supported by a portcullis. The outer door has also been protected by a gallery in the wall attained by a narrow flight of steps, with two loopholes on the side of the tower opposite to the entrance. The interior walls of the castle are completely gone, but they would probably be so constructed as to afford accommodation for both the people and their horses and cattle; and there can be no question but it was so occupied for five or six hundred years.

In King Stephen's time (between 1135 and 1154) "when the Scots were let into Cumberland, Bueth took that opportunity to incite as many as he could to recover his estate in Gilsland from Hubert de Vallibus; and it seems, notwithstanding the alliances and other obligations which Hubert had laid upon the inhabitants, to bind them to him, they took part with Gilles Bueth as the right heir." The Gilles Bueth here mentioned could not be the son of Bueth, as some have supposed, for he was slain before the time of Stephen. He was probably some other descendant of Bueth who was making claim to the property, for it appears that Bueth's posterity in Scotland were called of his name Gilles Bueth, or Lairds of Gillesbueth, corruptly Gillesbies. Afterwards, when Henry the Second obtained the crown of England, and took Cumberland again from the Scots, he re-granted the Barony of Gilsland to Hubert de Vallibus; and it is probable that Bewcastle Dale was included in this confirmation of the previous grant. The country, however, was so greatly infested by Bueth, or his followers, that none of the de Vaux family "durst inhabit there, until the Barons of Burgh Barony, who were kinsmen of Bueth, took upon them to summer their cattle there, at which time it was a waste forest ground, and fit for the depasturing of the cattle of the Lords of Burgh, and their tenants, who had no pasture for them at home." Hence Bewcastle is (incorrectly) found in some ancient inquisitions as parcel of the Barony of Burgh.

Robert de Vallibus, who was the only son of Hubert, died without issue, and then Bueth's possessions passed to Thomas de Multon, who married Matilda the daughter and heiress of Hubert de Vallibus. This Thomas de Multon was one of the Lords of Burgh, and hence these Barons obtained a claim to Bewcastle by marriage, as well as by their consanguinity with Bueth. In the time of Henry the third (between 1216 and 1272) Richard, Baron of Levington, by his right in Burgh, held Demesne lands, and other lands in Bewcastle, rents and services, as parcel of Burgh.

Bewcastle, from the Multons, came into the possession of the Swinburnes for several generations. In the seventh year of King Edward the First, 1279, John Swinburne obtained a fair and market to be held here. (13)

King James the First demised it to Francis, Earl of Cumberland, for forty years' term; and King Charles the First granted the fee to Richard Graham, knight and barrister, to hold of the crown in capite, by one entire knight's fee, and £7 10s. rent. It is now a manor belonging to the Right Honourable Sir James Robert George Graham, Baronet, of Netherby, who is one of the most considerable landowners in the parish. The custom of the manor was established under a decree in Chancery, grounded upon a Deed of Agreement (dated May 27, 1630), entered into between Sir Richard Graham, then Lord, and several of his tenants.

The Castle, although at that time the property of Sir Richard Graham, is said to have been destroyed in 1641 by the Parliament's forces, by whose fury many of the ancient fortresses were laid in ruins. Tradition also says that it was destroyed by Cromwell, and points out the place where he planted his cannon. Perhaps it may have suffered from both parties, From its vicinity to Scotland it was continually subject to the spoils of war. It formed one of the most formidable barriers to the Scottish marauders, as it was garrisoned by a considerable force, and the circumjacent forts were subject to its orders.

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(13) In the reign of King Henry the Eighth (1509 to 1547) one Jack Musgrave was governor of Bewcastle, but in whose right he held it is not mentioned—probably in right of Sir William Musgrave. When the Earl of Cassil was taken prisoner this John Musgrave claimed a part of the reward for the loan of his horse to Batill Routledge, his taker. In a list of the gentlemen of the county called out on border service under Sir Thomas Wharton (1543) we find the name of John Musgrave, with horse and foot. And in a muster in 1584 we find Bewcastle contributing fifty light horsemen to the use of the borders. In 1582 and 1586 we find one Thomas Musgrave mentioned as a deputy warden of Bewcastle, probably under Sir Simon Musgrave, Knight: so that Bewcastle would appear to have been in possession of the Musgraves at that period. Camden speaks of it as a castle of the kings in his day, and defended by a small garrison, so that the Musgraves probably only held under the crown.

# RUNIC CROSS IN BEWCASTLE CHURCHYARD.

STONES in the form of a cross, both plain and sculptured, have been reared by our forefathers at different remote periods, and for a variety of purposes, and hence the history of such crosses becomes a subject of investigation replete with the deepest interest. Some of these crosses were simply way-side crosses, being frequently only a small rude square or oblong stone with a small cross cut on the face of it. These, besides being a great resort for beggars, were places where the corpse was allowed to stand for a short period when passing to its last place of rest, in order that a brief prayer might be offered for the soul of the departed. The pious of former days seldom passed these crosses without bowing or kneeling, and offering up their short and devout ejaculations. Crosses were also generally erected wherever a market was held, under the impression, perhaps, as some suppose, that the visible emblem of our redemption might influence the minds of the traders towards honesty and fair dealing, and hence we frequently find the remains of a cross near ancient religious establishments, as for instance at Lanercost, because at such places a market was almost invariably held, often even immediately after the celebration of divine service on the Sabbath. Some of these stones or crosses were erected near the shores, and served as beacons or landmarks;—others were placed as sentinels or guardians of public springs and wells; others denoted the place where great battles had been fought and won, and where other important events had occurred, such as the celebrated Percy and Neville crosses; others denoted a place of sanctuary, where criminals, however guilty, might crave and obtain the protection of the Church; while others were placed in churchyards to impress the feelings, and increase the ardour of public devotion. The most interesting of this class are those which have been erected to denote the burial-place of some important personage, and of these the cross in the churchyard at Bewcastle may be justly considered as one of the most remarkable specimens. (14)

Drawings of the north and west sides of this monument appeared in the "Gentleman's Magazine" in 1742, p. 317. Captain Armstrong, a surveyor of land, who was born at Lowgrange, about a mile from the monument, is said to

(14) This pillar, which may be properly classed among the most celebrated of archæological monuments, is nearly the frustum of a square pyramid, measuring 22 inches by 21 at the base, and tapering to 14 inches by 13 at the top of the shaft, being 14½ feet high above its pedestal. The pillar has been fixed with lead in a shallow cavity which has been cut on the crown of a nearly cubical block of stone 4 feet square, and 3 ft. 9 in. high; which stone is now sunk about 3 feet into the ground, and has been tooled off at the upper corners so as to assume the appearance of an unequal-sided octagon. On the top of the pillar was formerly placed a small cross, which has been lost for a considerable period, and hence the pillar is now merely an obelisk.

The traditions of the district say that a king was buried here, and also point out the locality where the shaft of the pillar was procured; and the traditions are probably correct in both respects. On an extensive, and still unenclosed waste, called White Lyne Common, about five miles from Bewcastle Church, is a long ridge of rocks called the Langbar. About the centre of this ridge a stone is now lying on the surface of the ground, which is nearly fifteen feet in length, and which is the very counterpart of the Bewcastle obelisk in its rude and undressed state. It is evidently the relic of a stone which has been split at some distant period into two equal parts, the marks of the wedges used in the operation being still distinctly traceable, and the side, which, from its present position, may be called the western, apparently much fresher than the other sides, and not covered with so thick a coat of grey moss; as if it had been exposed to the effects of the weather for a shorter period of time. The obelisk is a peculiar species of rock; a very hard, gritty, and durable white freestone, with rather a yellow tinge, thickly covered with spots of a grey hue; precisely such as is found at the Langbar, and the adjacent rocks on the south side of the White Lyne river. A careful comparison of some fragments of the obelisk with other fragments from the Langbar stone, shows them to be unquestionably twins from one and the same parent.

To this supposed and traditional origin of the obelisk it may possibly be objected, that it would be almost impossible to convey such an immense block of stone from such a hilly and now roadless district. This objection, however, is much diminished, if we bear in mind that the old Roman road called the Maiden Way passed near both its present and its supposed original site, which road would probably be in good order at the period when the stone was brought; and that there was an easy and gradual incline across the moor from the Langbar to the Maiden Way; affording facilities for its conveyance to this road.

have published an engraving of it, out of regard to his native place. A facsimile of the chief inscription was communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1801 by the late and very learned Henry Howard, Esq., of Corby Castle, (see Archæologia, vol. 14, p. 118,) and Cardonnell is said by Mr. Howard to have published a good representation of the cross. I have not been able to procure a sight of this representation, but, through the kindness of P. H. Howard, Esq., I have seen a drawing in water-colours, representing the four sides of the monument, by Miss Ann Cardonnell, which was sent to Mr. Howard by her father, and which is far from accurate. In each of the Histories of Cumberland published by Hutchinson and Lysons, drawings are also given of this stone; those in Hutchinson bearing some resemblance to those of Miss Cardonnell. The best representation which I have seen is that in Lysons, but in this the figures and some of the so-called magical knots are not quite correctly delineated, and the tracings of certain parts of the vines are too thick to convey a faithful impression of the gracefulness of the original sculpture. I made a drawing of this monument some time since, accurate and correct as possible in all its details, which I presented to Mr. Le Keux, and he proposed to devote two plates to this drawing in his valuable work on the Illustration of Ancient Crosses.

We have no authentic copy or record of the inscriptions on this remarkable monument; or of the period when they first became illegible; but of this we may rest assured, that they have not been distinct for more than two centuries. Camden, who died in 1623, devoted his attention to them, but failed in deciphering them. In Gibson's edition of Camden's Britannia, 1695, this monument is thus described:—"In the churchyard is a cross of one entire square stone, about twenty foot high, and curiously cut; there is an inscription, too, but the letters are so dim that they are not legible. But seeing the cross is of the same kind as that in the arms of the family of Vaux, one may conjecture that it has been made by some of that family." If Camden's measurement be correct, it must comprehend the pedestal, shaft, and the cross on its summit, which cross must consequently have been 21 inches high. From Camden's observations we may naturally infer that the inscription must have been lost long before his day.

Lord William Howard (commonly called Belted Will), who died in the same year as Camden, also attempted to recover the inscription, but without success. In the History of Cumberland, published by Nicholson and Burn, in 1777, we read as follows:—"The Lord William Howard of Naworth (a lover of antiquities) caused the inscriptions thereon to be carefully copied, and sent them to Sir Henry Spelman to interpret. The task being too hard for Sir Henry, he transmitted the copy to Olaus Wormius, History Professor at Copenhagen, who was then about to publish his Monumenta Danica."

Sir H. Spelman reads one part of the inscriptions (which is said to have been "in epistylio crucis," and which I take to be the bottom line on the south side,) thus:—

*i. e.*, RICES DRYHTNESS: which may be translated, "of the kingdom of our Lord," or (the monument) "of a powerful Lord." Wanleius, in his Catalogue, p. 248, with a slight variation of the letters, reads this line, "RYNAS DRYHTNESS," *i. e.*, "mysteria Domini,"—"the Runes or mysterious characters of our Lord." Wanleius took this from the Cottonian Codex in the British Museum. The learned antiquary, Olaus Wormius, in his Monumenta Danica, pp. 162, 168, notices the inscription sent by Spelman, and prints it exactly as it was sent to him, but owns at the same time that he did not know what to make of it. One part of it, which he says was in epistylio crucis (the bottom line of the south side), supposing the characters to be Scandinavian Runes, and dividing the line into eighteen letters,—

he reads thus: *i. e.*, RINO SATU RUNA STINOTH,—"RINO made these Runic stones." Hickes, in his Thesaurus, Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica, makes some slight deviations from the reading of Spelman, and gives the line thus,—

"RODEN DRYHTNESS,"—"the cross of our Lord." Bishop Nicholson (formerly Bishop of Carlisle, who devoted much of his attention to the recovery of these inscriptions,) says in the year 1685, "on the south side, flourishes and conceits as before, and towards the bottom, the following decayed inscription :—

The defects in this short piece are sufficient to discourage me from attempting to expound it; but possibly it may be read thus :—"GAG UBBO ERLET": "Ubbo conquered the robbers." I may observe that the Bishop's copy of these letters is very inaccurate, and embraces portions of the sculpture, which he has mistaken for letters.

The late Mr. Kemble, in his memoir, (Archæologia, vol. xxviii., part 16,) read this line nearly the same as Spelman—"RICÆS DRYHTNÆS"—"Domini potentis," which he said may be part of an inscription—the first word or words being lost—or the pillar itself may be taken as part of the sentence, thus, "Signum Domini potentis"; which means—"the monument of a powerful lord." Kemble said—"Whether this inscription (referring to the one read by Grimm) and the stone on which it was cut, stood alone, or whether they formed part of some larger monument, I do not know." (15)

In the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1742, p. 368, is a paper from the pen of Mr. George Smith, who, according to the "Biographia Cumb.," was a native of Scotland; a man of genius and learning; who lived for some time near Brampton, and was a great contributor to the "Gentleman's Magazine." Mr. Smith gives a description of the north side of the monument, but never favoured the public with his promised dissertation on its remaining sides. (16)

The late Henry Howard, Esq., of Corby Castle, in a communication to the Society of Antiquaries in the year 1801 (see Archæologia, vol. 14, p. 118) says that he spent two days in an attempt to recover the inscription on this cross. (17)

Although Mr. Howard probably did not actually succeed in deciphering any part of it, yet, so far as I know, he was the first person to whose learned researches we are indebted for the very ingenious suggestion as to Bewcastle being the tomb of King Alfrid. *Although Mr. Howard failed in his attempt to open the lock, yet he was probably the first person to point out the right key.*

(15) Speaking of the present monument, Kemble said—"I beg to refer the reader to the careful copy of this (the inscription) furnished by Mr. Howard of Corby Castle. This plate contains three several portions of the inscription. Of fig. 1 but one letter, an R, is now legible. Fig. 2, which contains indistinct traces of nine lines of Runes, and of which the loss may be said to be irreparable, offers here and there a legible letter or two, but no more. Fig. 3, on the contrary, is still in perfect preservation: unfortunately it supplies us with only one word, and that a proper name—CYNIBURUG or CYNIBURUH, which contains unquestionable evidence of great antiquity. Who this lady was it would be absurd to attempt to guess; but I think that the fifth line of the inscription in fig. 2 may also possibly have contained her name; while the second line of the same, commencing with letters which apparently formed the word CRIST, render it likely that this, as well as the Ruthwell pillar, was a Christian work. The most important deduction from the name I have read is, that the inscription was an Anglo-Saxon, not a Norse one." (Kemble on Anglo-Saxon Runes. Archæologia, vol. 28, p. 346-7.)

(16) In Mr. Smith's paper on the north side it is stated, p. 319, on the authority of the "Magna Britannia Antiqua et Nova," that the cross was washed over with a white oily cement. I have noticed several remains of this cement. The letters appear to have been filled with it level with the surface of the stone. It is white, covered with a thin coat of green, and then with a covering of grey rust of the exact colour of the stone itself; so that for a long time it escaped my observation when embedded in the letters. It is so hard and tenacious that it is almost impossible to eradicate it; the point of a knife making no impression. I mention this circumstance because I have been censured by a Mr. Robert White, of Newcastle, and some other fastidious antiquarians, for painting the inscribed portions of the cross—men who had neither the perseverance nor the ability to recover the lost inscriptions themselves, and who could only snarl at the attempts and the success of others. I consider, however, that I was justified in resorting to every expedient that offered a probability of assistance in tracing the very dubious and worn-out marks, provided I did no injury to the stone, and I defy the whole body of these gentlemen to prove that I have injured the cross in the slightest degree by painting a few portions of it. I can assure them that I venerate the cross at Bewcastle as much as if it had been made from my own bones.

(17) His mode of operation, according to his own account, seems to have been as follows :—He cut slips of paper of the breadth of the lines, and took the impression, a few letters at a time, by rubbing the paper placed thereon with a piece of ivory, working the paper in as much as possible with the finger, and afterwards following the finger at the edges of every part of the letters with the pencil. He speaks thus of the inscription—"The third, fourth, and fifth lines are the most perfect. Towards the lower part scarce anything is to be made out. On the whole, indeed, little more than the vestiges of the inscription remain; the perpendicular parts of the letters are discernible, and have probably been deepened by the rain, but the horizontal and other parts are nearly obliterated." He offers no interpretation of the inscription.

In the History of Cumberland published by Hutchinson in 1794 is a long article on this monument, with a copy of the inscription published in the "Gentleman's Magazine," which I suspect to have been made first by Lord William Howard, and sent by him to Sir H. Spelman, and afterwards published in the "Monumenta Danica" of Wormius. The Lysons, in their History of Cumberland, have also favoured this cross with a passing notice. Many antiquarians have visited it at different periods, but I am not aware that any one has published any account or explanation of it, besides the parties already mentioned. I shall now venture to offer a detailed account of it.

## THE CROSS.

On the crown of the pillar is a cavity 7½ inches deep and 8½ inches square, designed to hold the foot of the small cross which formerly surmounted the shaft; the loss of which is much to be regretted. Mr. Smith, in his dissertation already mentioned, says that it was demolished long ago by popular frenzy and enthusiasm. The tradition of the district says that it was broken off by an ill-aimed cannon ball when Cromwell destroyed the castle. But both of these statements are probably incorrect. From Gough's edition of Camden we find that a slip of paper had been found in *Camden's own copy* of his "Britannia" (Ed. 1607, in the Bodleian Library), accompanied by the following note—"I received this morning a ston from my Lord of Arundel, sent him from my Lord William. It was the head of a cross at Bucastle." Now Camden died in 1623, and as Cromwell did not visit these parts till about 20 years afterwards (if he ever visited them at all), it is very evident from this fact, and from this statement of Camden, that the disappearance of this cross may be more justly attributed to the antiquarian propensities of Belted Will, than to any of the errant balls of Cromwell's artillery.

### *East Side.*

A vine springing from the bottom of the pillar, and highly relieved, is represented as gracefully winding up the East side in serpentine undulations, with numerous branches starting from it, covered with foliage and bunches of grapes. This side of the monument bears a considerable resemblance to two sides of the Runic monument at Ruthwell, near Dumfries, which is said to be the only stone hitherto discovered in Scotland with a Runic inscription: no Runes having yet been found even in the Orkney or Shetland Isles, where they might have been expected in abundance.

In each of the regular and flowing curves of the vine an animal, or a bird, is artfully sculptured (in alto relievo) in what is considered by some people as the old Gothic style, and is in the act of feeding on the fruit. In the lowest curve is a quadruped somewhat resembling a fox-hound. In each of the next two curves is the representation of an imaginary biped, having the head and shoulders of an animal, while the body tapers away into a long, flexible, and curled tail, with an enlarged point, curiously entwined round the stem and branches, the lower biped bearing some resemblance to one on the cross at Ruthwell. In the curve above this is a bird like a hawk or an eagle; and in the next curve is a bird like a raven; these two birds being nearly the same in figure, but considerably larger than two similar birds at Ruthwell. In each of the two succeeding curves is a sculptured squirrel, the Ruthwell Cross differing from this at Bewcastle in having more birds, and only one squirrel. The vine, gradually growing more slender, winds again into two elegant curves, and appears to terminate with clusters of grapes.

The sculpture on this side of the cross has suffered very little damage from the corroding effects of the weather. The buds, blossoms, and fruit have been so carefully and exquisitely delineated by the chisel of the workman, and are still so faithfully preserved, that they seem as if they were things only just starting into life. (18) There

(18) Bishop Nicholson looks upon these flourishes and conceits as nothing more "than the statuary's fancy"; and Mr. Hutchinson thinks "it would be extending a desire of giving extraordinary import to works of antiquity to suppose they were intended to carry any emblematical meaning: they are similar to the ornaments of the capitals and fillets in Gothic structures of the eleventh century, or near about that time, and no one ever yet presumed to assert they were to be construed as hieroglyphics." According to Boece, the hieroglyphic figures on ancient crosses were borrowed from the Egyptians, and were used by

is no inscription now on the east side. It is probable however that there have been some letters near the top of the shaft on a part which has been broken off.

*West Side.*

The west side is the most important on account of its ornaments, and also its inscriptions. On a plain surface (about nine inches deep, near the top of the cross) which appears to have surmounted the decorated parts on each of the four sides, are the following remains of Runic letters.

They are apparently fragments of the letters K, S, and S, in the word KRISTUS, which occurs again a little lower down on this side: the lower part of the letter K, the middle and lower part of the first S, and the termination of the last S, being all that now remains of the word. It will appear from the succeeding pages of this Treatise why I suppose these fragments to be constituent parts of the word KRISTTUS.

Bishop Nicholson says—"On the west side of the stone we have three fair draughts, which evidently enough manifest the monument to be Christian .... On the top stands the effigies of the B. V. with the Babe in her arms and both their heads encircled with glories." Mr. Hutchinson coincides with the prelate as to this figure, and Mr. Armstrong represents it like a mitred ecclesiastic. The Lysons say of this sculpture—"The female figure is so defaced that nothing more than a general outline can be distinguished; what she holds in her left arm is much better preserved, and is the holy lamb." On carefully removing the moss from the stone I ascertained that the Lysons were correct as to the "Agnus Dei," but not as to the figure of a female, for the beard itself, if there were no other marks, affords sufficient proof that it must be the representation of St. John the Baptist, and not of the Blessed Virgin. The head of the "Agnus Dei" has been encircled with a small "nimbus" or "glory," but there is no trace of one surrounding the head of the Apostle. There is a similar figure on the Ruthwell Cross, although it has evidently not been sculptured from the same design. Dr. Duncan, in his illustrations of the Ruthwell monument, describes this image as representing "the Father standing on two globes or worlds (indicating probably the world which now is and that which is to come) with the Agnus Dei in his bosom."

Immediately below this figure are two lines of Runic letters to which my attention was at first drawn by the very imperfect representation of them in the plates in Lysons. On divesting these letters of their mossy covering, and obtaining a mould in plaster of Paris from this part of the stone, I found that although extremely dim, the letters were still perfect and legible. This short inscription is in the Latin language, while the other inscriptions on the monument are in the Anglo-Saxon, thus rendering the monument one of the bi-lingual order. The inscription, when rendered into the English language, is simply "Jesus Christ"; and undoubtedly refers to the figure of our Saviour immediately below it, thus limiting the period of the erection of the monument to the Christian era. It may be read thus in Runic and Roman characters:—

+ GESSUS
KRISTTUS.

Mr. Smith says—"That the monument is Danish appears incontestible from the characters: Scottish and Pictish monuments having nothing but hieroglyphics, and the Danish both." Mr. Hutchinson thinks that "his assertion was hasty of the Scottish and Pictish monuments"—but he also appears to consider the monument Danish. These letters, however, are undoubtedly Anglo-Saxon Runes, and they, as well as the others found on this cross, generally agree with those found

the natives in place of letters; and both he and subsequent historians have assigned a Danish origin to many of them—an idea which is quite repudiated by the present race of Danish antiquarians.

in the Codex Exoniensis published by Hickes, thus proving the monument to be of Anglo-Saxon construction; and hence arises one of the most important subjects of inquiry connected with this memorial, to which I now beg to draw the reader's special notice for a few moments.

It has been a question much debated amongst our learned Antiquarians whether the Anglo-Saxons had any system of writing peculiar to themselves, or whether they used entirely the Roman characters of Augustine. This stone, however, seems to set the matter quite at rest, and a doubt can no longer be entertained on this point. Hence it becomes a monument of the greatest historical interest and importance, and goes far to prove that *the earliest Anglo-Saxon colonists* were acquainted with the use of letters; for assuredly if they were first taught to read and write by St. Augustine in the Roman characters, we cannot believe that Runic characters would be introduced at any subsequent period. The Roman characters would be much more easily learned and used; and hence their general adoption in preference to the rude forms of the Anglo-Saxon letters, which in all probability were little known by the mass of the people.

It ought, however, to be carefully borne in mind that before the coming of Augustine into this country, in the year 597, we have scarcely a single trustworthy record of any one event in the history of our country. When Augustine and his companions introduced their system of Christian observances into this island, there can be little doubt but that they introduced at the same time a *system of writing and the keeping of annals;* and hence the few documents of this early period bear the marks of their Roman as well as ecclesiastical origin. It is very remarkable that the Charters, and other important documents of that early period, are all in the Latin language. Although in the early ages of the Christian Church many prelates as well as princes were unable to write even their own names, yet it is probable that the order of the clergy, as a body, occupied a much better position, so far as this goes, than the laity; and hence the clergy became at that early period the tabelliones, *i. e.*, the draughtsmen and engrossers of these instruments, and remained such for many succeeding centuries. Hence also arose the prevalence of the Latin language. It is not unreasonable to suppose, however, that some of the Anglo Saxons, especially those of the ecclesiastical order, were acquainted with a system of writing different from the Roman, although we cannot believe that there was any wide dispersion of such a power of recording the events of the time. (19)

We may now return from our digression and proceed with the further examination of the inscription. The first thing that arrests our attention is the mark of the Cross which precedes this inscription, and also some of the other inscriptions on this monument. This use of the holy emblem as a prefix is full of interest (20). The mode of

(16) The letters of the alphabet have always been called "Runes," *i. e.*, secret letters ("run" signifying a secret or mystery), probably because known only to very few persons; and hence the letters on this cross may be properly designated Anglo-Saxon Runes. Such Runes were only fitted for short inscriptions, and consequently we generally find them on stones or blocks of wood, and probably they might, as has been generally supposed, be used for little else than auguries, divinations, and witchcraft. They were not at all adapted for continuous writing, and there is perhaps little probability of their having ever been put to any such use. Modern researches have gone far to prove that the Runic alphabet and characters of the Germans, Anglo-Saxons, and Dano-Saxons, were not a corruption of a more perfect alphabet, but that they possessed an undeniably primitive stamp, which bears a certain degree of resemblance to the alphabets of almost all the early inhabitants of Europe—such as the Etruscans, the Turditanians, the Celtiberians, &c., but more especially a decided affinity to the Ionic, *i. e.*, the most ancient of the Greek alphabets; which circumstance is considered by some as pointing to the east as the source of Runic civilization. Bosworth, in his Saxon Grammar, page 27, says—"Fortunatus, indeed, in the sixth century, mentions the rude Runes of the Gothic hordes of Italy. But Hickes cannot produce a single instance of Runic alphabetical writing older than the eleventh century, when Runes, which were only Talismanic figures, were first applied to alphabetical use, by expressing sounds instead of representing things." Several Anglo-Saxon Runic inscriptions have, however, been discovered and deciphered, which are undoubtedly connected with a period long anterior to the eleventh century; and the Bewcastle pillar is, I believe, at present the earliest known specimen of Anglo-Saxon Runic writing.

(20) Professor Wilson, in his Prehistoric Annals of Scotland, elucidates the Runic inscriptions on the crosses in the Isle of Man, and infers from the mark of the cross which occurs on one of them, that such a mark was used to show that the inscription was the work of an Ecclesiastic. We must not, however, draw any such general inference from the use of this mark on this cross. It is not necessary to suppose that the occurrence of the mark of the cross generally denotes anything of the kind: and more especially so on this Bewcastle monument. Mosheim tells us (even as

spelling the names of our Redeemer is also interesting, as it shows the method in use among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers in the 7th century. We may presume that the Italian mode of spelling the word "Gessus" with a G was in use from an early period; and it appears to be still continued in that language, for in a legal document in Italian, dated at Leghorn in Tuscany in the last century, I find the word "Gessus" commencing with the letter G. I have carefully examined the inscriptions given in the "Roma Sotteranea," but have found no trace of these names so spelt there. In fact the word "Jesus" scarcely ever occurs in the very long list of inscriptions given by Bossius. I find the expressions "domino Zesu," and "pie Zesus"; and these are the nearest approaches to the orthography of the Bewcastle Monument.

The letter K and the double letter T in the word "Kristtus" also merit a passing notice. The letter K for C is sometimes found in Roman inscriptions. Horsley mentions an altar found at Stanwix, near Carlisle, afterwards placed at Drawdykes Castle, in which K is used for C; thus, "conjux Karissima" instead of "conjux carissima." The letter K for C also appears in other inscriptions of an older date than any in Britain. The doubling of the letter T is said by some Saxon grammarians to be characteristic of Dano-Saxon usage, but its appearance on the Bewcastle Monument shows it to have been so used long before the Danes visited this country. A character similar to the second letter in the first line is given as the letter O in the Exeter manuscript published by Hickes; and the use of the dipthong Œ instead of the vowel E is by no means contrary to Saxon usage. In the Mœso-Gothic language the word "Jesus" was written with the dipthong AI—thus, IAISUS. Hence I was for a long time in doubt whether these two lines ought to be read "Iœssus Kristtus," or "Gessus Kristtus" with a cross prefixed. Having, however, obtained a very good rubbing of the lines, and having found the cross prefixed in so many other parts of the monument, I am now of opinion that the latter reading is probably the correct one.

I believe I am right in asserting that

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early as the third century) that the cross was supposed to administer a victorious power over all sorts of trials and calamities, and that no Christian undertook anything of moment without arming himself with the influence of this triumphant sign. The use of the cross as a symbol appears to have been very prevalent among our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. On nearly every one of their coins the legends, or inscriptions, have the cross prefixed. Again, if we look into Anglo-Saxon Charters of an early period, and other documents, we find these marks of the crosses by dozens, as prefixes to the signatures of each of the parties. In short, the universality of the sign of the cross is recognized in the earliest Italian as well as Anglo-Saxon documents. It seems also to have been prevalent as a prefix to the Roman inscriptions after a certain period. In a thick Italian quarto volume, "Roma Sotteranea," published at Rome in 1650 by Antonius Bosius, an Ecclesiastical antiquarian, which contains a copious history of those wonderful burial-places at Rome called the Catacombs, we find facsimiles of a large number of the inscriptions which are to be met with there, and we also find the cross attached to a very considerable part of these inscriptions. In fact, the cross appears to have been the almost universally adopted symbol of our redemption by every nation which embraced Christianity. Besides the numerous instances of its appearance on the gravestones of the primitive Christians in the Catacombs we know that the earliest Christians gloried in its use. The banners of the Emperor Constantine were, by direction from heaven, as has been stated, blazoned with this representation of Christ crucified, "in hoc signo vinces." Among Christians in the east, even to this day, it is the usual sign of recognition; and in the Greek Churches this emblem is everywhere to be found. Long before material crosses were in use, Tertullian tells us that "upon every motion, at their going out or coming in, at dressing, at their going to the bath, or at meals, or to bed, or whatever their employments or occasions called them to, the primitive Christians were wont to mark their foreheads with the sign of the cross," adding that "this was a practice which tradition had introduced, custom had confirmed, and which the present generation received upon the credit of that which went before them." It is probable, however, that the cross was only an adopted symbol, and that it was by no means confined to Christians, and to Christian monuments. The Egyptians regarded it as the emblem of reproduction and resurrection. It is more than probable that a heathen feeling lurked under this symbol, and that it was held binding, even before the introduction of Christianity. The hammer of the heathen god Thunor (Thor) was at one time the symbol in all contracts, and that hammer was literally and really the representation of a cross. In the "Runographia Scandica" of Olaus Verellus twelve illustrations of stones with Scandinavian Runic inscriptions are given in which the cross is conspicuous. This emblem on these stones cannot be supposed to have any connection with Christianity, for Odin was the god to whom the Scandinavians paid their homage. In the first of these illustrations on which the cross appears, the inscription is as follows:—"Jubern Ukvi has inscribed this stone to the memory of his father Irbern, and has dedicated these sepulchral Runes to the god Odin." It is also worth observing that this mark or sign seems to have been appropriated from the very beginning to some great mystery, for we read in the Book of Exodus that the Israelites could overcome the Amalekites no longer than Moses, by stretching out his arms, continued in the form of a cross.

these two lines form the *first portion of the inscriptions of the Bewcastle monument which have been correctly deciphered by any one.* After considerable trouble and research I succeeded in recovering them in the summer of 1854, and I made a communication to that effect soon afterwards to Mr. Way, one of the Secretaries of the Archæological Institute. I also mentioned my reading of these two lines to several other persons who saw the monument, and pointed out to them the variety in the reading.

Below the two lines of Runes above-mentioned is a figure which Bishop Nicholson conjectures to be "the picture of some Apostle, Saint, or other holy man, in a sacerdotal habit, with a glory round his head." Mr. Hutchinson describes it as "the figure of a religious person, the garments descending to his feet, the head encircled with a nimbus, not now appearing radiated, but merely a circular rise of the stone; the right hand is elevated in a teaching posture, and the other hand holds a roll: a fold of the garment was mistaken by Mr. Armstrong for a string of beads. We conceive this figure to represent St. Cuthbert, to whom the Church, as set forth by Nicholson and Burn, is dedicated." The Lysons say—"As he holds a roll (the sacred volumen) in his left hand, and the right hand is elevated in the act of benediction, we should rather suppose it was intended for our Saviour, who is frequently so represented in ancient works of art." The two Runic lines above the figure now show that the Lysons were correct in their conjectures. The figure appears to be nearly an accurate fac-simile of the representation of our Saviour on the Ruthwell Cross. On the Bewcastle pillar each of the feet of our Saviour is represented as placed upon a pedestal which is no longer distinct. On the Ruthwell Cross each of these pedestals is more perfect, and represents the head of a pig, and they are undoubtedly intended for the same objects on the Bewcastle monument, probably having an allusion to the miracle of the devils cast into the herd of swine.

Under this figure of our Redeemer we find the remains of an inscription of nine lines, of which Camden said, "the letters are so dim that they are not legible," and which were considered so decayed in the time of Bishop Nicholson that he described them as "the forementioned ruins of Lord Howard's inscription"; and declined even attempting to make out any part of it. (21)

The following wood-cut shows the inscription in its Runic characters, and beneath is the inscription in Roman letters, the letters in brackets denoting compound Runes. The Roman letters, of course, are not on the stone.

RUNIC.

ROMAN.

+ [T H] I S S I G B [E A] C N
[T H U] N S E T T [O N] H
W [A E T] R E D W [A E T H]
G A R A L W F W O L
[T H U] A F T A L C F R I
[T H U] E A N K Y N I [I N G]
E A C O S W I U [I N G]
+ G E B I D H E
O S I N N A S A W [H U] L A.

(21) During the last few years my attention has been specially directed from time to time to the recovery of this long-lost inscription. I covered the inscribed parts first of all with soft mud and

I read the inscription thus—

+THISSIG BEACN THUN SETTON
HWAETRED WAETHGAR
ALWFWOLTHU AFT ALCFRITHU
EAN KYNIING EAC OSWIUING.
+GEBID HEO SINNA SAWHULA—

and it may be thus translated: *+Hwætred, Wæthgar,* and *Alwfwold* (the names of three persons)—setton—*set up*—thissig thun beacn—*this slender pillar*—aft Alcfrithu—*in memory of Alcfrid*—ean Kyniing—*ane King*—eac Oswiuing—*and son of Oswy.* + Gebid—*pray thou*—heo—*for them*—sinna—*their sins*—sawhula—*their souls.*

In this inscription the first character or mark is, I now believe, that of a cross, although it is not very distinct. I was for a long time inclined to adopt the idea of Bishop Nicholson that the inscription commenced with the monogram IHS for "Jesus hominum Salvator," *i. e.*, Jesus the Saviour of men. Good rubbings, however, and repeated examinations of the stone, and the frequent occurrence of this emblem on other parts of the cross, lead me to the conclusion that it has commenced with a cross. The word "thissig" is not an unusual form of the pronoun "this," such a termination being often affixed to adjectives and pronouns. The word "beacn" is variously written "beacen, beacn, bocn, bycn, becen, and becn," and denotes "a beacon, sign, or token." (22).

The word "thun" means thin or slender, and has probably some reference to the size and shape of the monument. The first letter in the word "thun" is a Trirunor, or compound Rune, being composed of the letters "TH"— —and the letter U— —and hence by combination we have the Trirunor THU— (23)

The word "setton" is the third person plural of the perfect tense of the verb "settan"—*to set or place*, and agrees with the three nominative cases Hwætred, Wæthgar, and Alwfwolthu. (24)

"Aft" is the preposition, *after or in memory of*, and governs the word

sods for a few months, which process entirely removed the thick coat of moss and lichens with which the letters were so thickly covered, without doing any injury to the stone. I then tried to obtain dry rubbings with lead, and grass, but from the defaced state of the letters, these rubbings were very imperfect and unsatisfactory. I next obtained a mould and cast of the inscribed part in plaster of Paris, but without any great result. I then gave these parts a coat of paint which rendered the letters more distinct than the cast. I afterwards tried some rubbings after the following method which was partly recommended by Mr. Way in March, 1854, and which was more successful than the other processes: I cut slips of white paper, such as is generally used by printers, rather broader than the length of the letters; a separate slip for each line. I fastened these slips, one at a time, to the stone with strings to prevent them from slipping, having previously pricked them well with a pin to allow the air to escape through them. With a large sponge I then saturated them well with water, and pressed them to the stone till they adhered closely to it. After allowing them time to dry, and while still sticking to the stone, I gave them a careful rubbing with a black-lead rubber. By this process I succeeded in getting some good rubbings; and from these rubbings, combined with the previous processes, and a repeated dwelling of the eye upon the letters, and countless tracings of the depressions and marks with the point of the finger, I have succeeded in gaining such knowledge of the almost worn-out characters, that I now venture to offer a version of this interesting inscription.

(22) These two words may possibly be read thus: "this sigbeacn"—sigbeacn being a compound word derived from "sige"—*victory, triumph*: and hence the word "sigbeacn" means *a token of triumph or victory.* But as we have no record of any triumph or victory gained by Alcfrid for which the monument was reared, this part of the inscription may perhaps be more correctly rendered thus, "thissig beacn."

(23) The cross-bars in this letter were for a long time a complete puzzle to me, having been noticed by me from the first. At last it was suggested that it might possibly be the compound Runic character "THU," and from that time I experienced no further insurmountable difficulty in reading the inscription. From Mr. Howard's plate of the inscription it is evident that he had noticed these cross-bars. The same character appears in the words Alwfwolthu, Alcfrithu, and Ecgfrithu.

(24) An old schoolfellow, the Rev. Thos. Calvert, of Norwich, visited Bewcastle for the purpose of inspecting the Monument, but had not an opportunity of seeing the inscription, as it was at that time covered with sods. He very shrewdly suggested that I might probably find the words "beacon" and "setta" upon it, as, in addition to the host of ingenious speculations already advanced as to the object of its erection, he thought it might have been a beacon or boundary cross set up to mark the extent of the fifteen miles around Carlisle granted by King Egfrid to the religious establishments at that city. After the monument was cleaned I sent him a copy of the inscribed part so far as I was then able to trace it. In letters which I afterwards received from him he favoured me with the following acute observations. "If the second word could be read *sigbeakn* it might mean *a sign of victory*"——"Can the first part of the second line be '*upsetta*,' *i. e.*, set up." He also suggested that "Hwætred" might be an appellative, "brave in council"; and stated that it occurred in the Codex Exoniensis; and that it might also be a Saxon proper name; that "thun" might be for "thegn or thea," *a thane*; that the first word might be "thissig," an old form of "this," analogous to "senig," *one*; and that it might perhaps be read thus: "thissig bealtun setta," *set up this funeral monument.* This latter suggestion, however, (although a very ingenious one) would destroy the alliteration of the verse, and does not occupy all the traces on the stone.

Alcfrithu, to whom the monument was erected. The word "ean"—*one*—is very similar to our provincial word "ane," which is still in use in this district. (25)

The word "Gebid" stands for "bid," and is the second person singular of the imperative mood of the verb "biddan"—*to pray, to bid, or require.* The syllable "ge" is simply an expletive or augment, such an expletive being in common use. (26)

The word "heo" is not an unusual form of the pronoun. "Sinna" is the plural form of "sin" or "syn," and signifies *sins.* "Sawhula" is the plural formation of the word "sawl," also written "sawol" and "sawul," the letter "h" being also introduced according to a very common Anglo-Saxon usage.

The inscription seems to consist of a few couplets of the alliterative versification of Anglo-Saxon poetry. Hence it becomes very important. and takes us far in advance of many of the preconceived opinions respecting our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. (27)

It may be read in four couplets, thus—

1. + Thissig beacn
   Thun setton
2. Hwætred Wæthgar Alwfwolthu
   Aft Alcfrithu
3. Ean Kyniing
   Eac Oswiuing
4. + Gebid heo sinna
   Sawhula.

In the first couplet we have the compound letters TH as the alliterating letters: in the second couplet the letters A: in the third the letters E: and in the fourth the letters S. It is remarkable that these couplets rhyme with each other, and thus establish a probability (or perhaps something more) that both alliteration and rhyme have been made use of by the Anglo-Saxons from a very early period. Although we cannot actually produce any Anglo-Saxon poem in rhyme of that era, yet the Anglo-Saxon poets Aldhelm, A.D. 709—Boniface, A.D. 754—the Venerable Bede, A.D. 735—Alcuin, and others—have left behind them Latin Poems in rhyme, which pre-supposes that this species of versification was anterior to, and commonly known in their time.

A very interesting question arises, whether this Bewcastle specimen of Anglo-Saxon poetry is not the oldest on record, being nearly 1200 years old. My own impression is that no earlier example has been discovered. This circumstance considerably enhances the value and importance of this ancient cross. The only specimen of Anglo-Saxon poetry which can be supposed to compete with this is a fragment of a song which was written by Cædmon, a monk who accustomed himself late in life to write religious poetry; and who died A.D. 680. His song was inserted by King Alfred in his Translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. In this brief fragment two of the couplets appear as rhyming with each other. This inscription also appears to upset some of the statements and theories of our best Anglo-Saxon grammarians with respect to what are called Dano-Saxon idioms and dialects,

(25) In Scott's "Border Exploits" we find a plate of a grave-stone with the following inscription—"HEIR LYES ANE WORTHIE PERSON CALIT WILLIAM ARMSTRONG OF SARK WHO DIED THE 10 DAY OF JUNE 1658 ÆTATIS SUÆ 56."

(26) Bosworth, in his Anglo Saxon Dictionary, on the word "ge" says—"In verbs it seems sometimes to be a mere augment . . . it often changes the signification from literal to figurative; as . . . biddan *to bid, require*; gebiddan *to pray.*"

(27) Olaus Wormius, in the appendix to his Treatise de Literatura Runica, has given a particular account of the Gothic poetry, commonly called Runic. He informs us that there were no fewer than 136 different kinds of measure or verse used in the *Vyses.* He says that the Runic harmony did not depend either upon rhyme, or upon metrical feet, or quantity of syllables, but chiefly upon the number of syllables, and *the disposition of the letters.* In each distich, or couple of lines, it was requisite that three words should begin with the same letter: two of the corresponding words being placed in the first line of the distich, and the third in the second line, frequent inversions and transpositions being permitted in this poetry. The curious in this subject may consult likewise Dr. Hickes's Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium; particularly the 23rd chapter of his Grammatica Anglo-Saxonica et Mœso-Gothica. It appears that the Anglo-Saxons admired, and, in some measure, followed the northern *Scaldi or Runæ* in forming the structure of their verse by a periodical repetition of similar letters, or by alliteration, *and disregarded a fixed and determinate number* of syllables. Rask, in his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, page 108, gives more specific rules for alliteration. Mr. Rask says—"The Saxon alliteration is thus constructed: in two adjacent and connected lines of verse there must be three words which begin with one and the same letter, so that the third or last alliterative word stands the first word in the second line, and the first two words are both introduced in the first line. The initial letters in these three words are called alliterative. The alliterative letter in the second line is called *the chief letter*, and the other two are called *assistant letters*.....If the chief letter be a vowel, the assistants must be vowels, but they need not be the same. *In short verses only one assistant letter is occasionally found.* In Anglo-Saxon poetry the words followed each other in continued succession, as in prose, and were not written in lines and verses as in our modern poetry. The division into verses was made by the regular succession of the alliterating letters.

throwing all their conjectures as to peculiarities introduced by the Danes topsy-turvy, and proving these supposed peculiarities to have belonged from the first to the Anglo-Saxon language.

No doubt much ignorance prevails generally regarding the habits of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors, for both public and private documents are only few and scanty which give us any insight into the general polity and social history of these our forefathers; and yet there are certain salient points in them which may be interesting to a majority of readers. In this memoir I shall, therefore, endeavour to give a brief philological examination of the words, as well as a biographical sketch (so far as history supplies us with the necessary data) of the persons whose names occur on this monument; from which the reader will be able to draw his own inferences as to the state and grade of morals and civilization twelve hundred years ago, when the institutions of the Britons were probably in a progress of perishing through their own corruption, and received fresh life and vigour re-infused into them through the sanctity of the more lofty morality of the Christian dispensation.

*Oswy.*

I shall commence my biographical sketch with Oswy, (as being the head of the family) whom I find described in the "Britannia Sancta" as a religious prince who omitted no opportunity of exhorting his friends to embrace the true way of salvation, and inducing them to submit to the sweet yoke of the faith and law of Christ. I find the name occurring as "Oswiu," which is simply an abbreviation of the Latin termination "Oswius." I also find the word written "Osuiu," and Nennius calls him "Osguid.' The termination "ing" after a proper name, according to Anglo-Saxon usage, denoted "the son of such a person"; hence the word "Oswiuing" means "the son of Oswy."

By the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Northhumbria we generally understand all the counties in England north of the river Humber, and the southern counties of Scotland nearly as far as Edinburgh. In the year 633, or, according to some historians, 644, after the death of King Edwin, it was divided into two parts, namely, the Kingdom of Deira under Osric, which comprehended (nearly) the counties of York, Durham, Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland; and the Kingdom of Bernicia under Eanfrid, which contained the county of Northumberland and the southern counties of Scotland. Higden (Lib. 1, De Regnis Regnorumque Limitibus) says that the Tyne divided the Kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia. (28)

These two kings, Osric and Eanfrid, being soon afterwards slain by Cadwalla, King of the Britons, the Kingdom of Northhumbria came to Oswald, who is said to have held it nine years. In the year 642, Oswy, son of Ethelfrid, succeeded to the Kingdom of Northhumbria, on the death of Oswald, who was slain by Penda, King of the Mercians. Oswy reigned 28 years, and Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. 2.) tells us that he subdued a great part of the nations of the Picts and Scots, and made them tributary. He also enjoyed the title of Bretwalda, which gave him an authority over all the other Anglo-Saxon kings.

Owsy, during the early part of his reign, had a partner in the royal dignity called Oswin, of the race of King Edwin, a man of wonderful piety and devotion, who governed the province of the Deiri seven years in very great prosperity, and was himself beloved by all men. But Oswy could not live at peace with him. Oswin, perceiving that he could not maintain a war against one who had more auxiliaries than himself, took refuge in the house of Earl Hunwald, in Yorkshire, where he was betrayed by him, and slain in a cruel and detestable manner by the orders of Oswy, in the year 650. After the death of Oswin the kingdom of Deira probably devolved upon Alcfrid, the son of Oswy; his father retaining the northern portion of the kingdom of Northhumbria. Notwithstanding this outrage, Oswy appears to have been a man zealous in the maintenance of the Christian faith, for when

(28) The following extract is from Sir F. Palgrave's interesting little book, History of the Anglo-Saxons:—"The British kingdoms of Defyr and Bryneich—Latinised into Deira and Bernicia"—extending from the Humber to the Firth of Forth, were divided from each other by a forest, occupying a tract between the Tyne and the Tees; and which, unreclaimed by man, was abandoned to wild deer. Properly speaking, this border land does not seem to have originally belonged to either kingdom; but, in subsequent times, the boundary between Deira and Bernicia was usually fixed at the Tyne."

Prince Peada, son of Penda, King of Mercia, came to Oswy in the year 653 requesting to have his daughter Elfleda given to him in marriage, he could not obtain Oswy's sanction unless he would first embrace the faith of Christ, and be baptized, with the nation which he governed.

Oswy continued firm to the religious professions of his youth, probably influenced by the persuasions of his Queen Eanfleda, the daughter of Eadwin, King of Deira, who had been driven from her native Northhumbria in her infancy, and, after an education among her maternal relatives in Kent, returned into Northhumbria as the wife of Oswy, inheriting (it is said) all the religious constancy of her mother and her grandmother. (29)

*Alfrid or Alcfrid.*

The peculiar way in which the word "Alcfrithu" is spelt may seem somewhat objectionable, but we ought to bear in mind that orthography has been very capricious, and at all periods has assumed the features of a constant tendency to change. In fact, it would now be quite impossible to settle the orthography which was prevalent at any given former period, or to reduce the various modes of spelling names, which we find in ancient charters and other documents, to any consistent form. The Latin termination of proper names in "thus" (and its abbreviation "thu") instead of "dus," appears to have been quite common. As a proof of the numerous and irregular modes of spelling names among the Anglo-Saxons we may adduce the following instances. We find Ethelbirthum, Egelbrictum, and Egelbrightum (the h before the t) for Ethelbert: Oidilvaldo for Ethelwald: Edbrithum, Egbrithro, Egbirtho, Egberthus, Edbriht, Edbrit, and Edbrichtus for Egbert: and many others. In a charter of Coenulf, or Cynulf, King of the Saxons (A.D. 808, Ms. C.C., Cantab., cxi. f., 77) we find the signature "Alhfrithi." In the Anglo-Saxon charters we also find the signatures Egfrido, Ecgfrith, Egfrid, Ecgfrithi, Ecgfridus, Ecgferth, for Egfrid, the brother of the Alcfrid whose name is recorded on this monument; and we also find the signatures Wilfridus, Wilfrith, Wilfrid, Wilfrithus, for Wilfrid, a bishop, and friend of Alcfrid. Numerous other instances might be easily adduced.

Cases, however, do sometimes occur where the variation of a single letter in the mode of spelling what is apparently the same name makes a very wide and important difference. We may take the word "Alfrid," as an example. Oswy had two sons, each of them a king, but at different periods, who in our English translations of Venerable Bede's Ecclesiastical History are generally called "Alfrid." On referring, however, to Stephenson's Latin edition of Bede, we find a small but an essential distinction. The name of the first "Alfrid," who is the person to whom this pillar was erected, is in that edition written thus, "Alchfrido." (Bk. 3, ch. 14.) And a note upon this place says:—"*Ealhfrith, Saxon version. This individual has frequently been confounded with Aldfrid, a natural son of Oswy, who succeeded his father in* 685. *Upon this subject a note in Lappenberg. Gesch. v., England* 1, 180, *may be consulted with advantage.* (30) Bede in other passages calls the first Alcfrid, and the second Aldfrid. In the Ang. Sax. Chron. the latter is styled "Aldfrith," and "Ealdferth." This Aldfrid succeeded his brother Egfrid in the kingdom of Northhumbria in the year 685, and died in 705. In Stephenson's edition of Bede we find the words Alchfrido,

(29) In Gale's Appendix 1 to our old British historian Nennius we read that Osguid (Oswy) had two wives—the one called Nemmedt the daughter of Roith the son of Rum, and the other called Eanfled. His first wife Nemmedt was also called Ricmmelth in Nennius.

(30) Bede, in his Life of St. Cuthbert, ch. 24, states that Aldfrid was the illegitimate brother of Egfrid; and that he subjected himself to voluntary exile in Ireland, during which he devoted himself to the study of the scriptures. It appears (from the Britannia Sancta) to have been customary for many of the English to leave their native country and retire into Ireland, either for the sake of improving themselves in divine learning, or to embrace there a more holy and continent life; the Irish most willingly receiving them, and furnishing them with their daily sustenance, and supplying them with books, and teaching them gratis. In the library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham is preserved an ancient Ritual which is said to have belonged to Aldfrid. Asser, in his Annals (anno 705), describes him as a monk when he died. He is also mentioned in Fordun, bk. 3, ch. 43. Alcwin, who, according to Gale, flourished about the year 780, calls him "Altfrido"—(*De Pontificibus*, line 843)—and says that he was devoted to sacred studies from his early youth. In another passage (line 1660) he calls him "Aldfridum." According to Camden he was buried at Driffield, in Yorkshire. In the Saxon version of Bede he is called "Ealdfrith." This Aldfrid is also mentioned in the Chronicle of Holyrood, as succeeding to the kingdom A.D. 685, and dying A.D. 705.

Alchfridi, and Alchfrid, for the first king; and Aldfridi, Aldfrido, Aldfrid, and Alfrid, for the second king. In the Life of Wilfrid by Eddie, who flourished about 50 years after the erection of the monument, we find the name of the first Alfrid mentioned eight times, and it is remarkable that it is spelt in six different ways, none of them agreeing with the orthography of Bede; thus, Aluchfrido, Ealfridus, Alucfridus, Alfridus, Ahlfridus, Alhfridum. In the same work we also find the second Alfrid mentioned, and spelt thus—Alfridum, Alfredo, Aldfridum (with a note Aldfrithum).

We may now pass on to a biographical sketch of the Alfrid, or Alcfrid, for whom this cross was erected. History gives us very little intimation of the various rulers who within their petty territories assumed the names of kings, and exercised the regal power; and just about as little of the extent and the nature of the authority and powers often claimed and exercised by the sons and brothers of the ruling sovereigns. Perhaps in the early periods of Anglo-Saxon history the very name of king "Kyniing," may have been assumed by the sons of sovereigns whether they exercised the sovereign rights or not. The word "kyniing" or "cyniing" was derived from "kyn" or "cyn," which signified "a nation or people," and sometimes "the head of the nation or people"; the termination "ing" at the end of proper nouns denoted "the son of such a person," and hence the word "Kyniing" would mean simply "the son of the head of the nation." It is somewhat strange that scarcely any charters belonging to the kingdom of Northumbria have survived to the present day, and hence from such documents we can form no idea whatever of the style adopted by the kings of that country. It is very probable, however, that they carefully maintained the distinction between Deira and Bernicia, which has been overlooked by many historians of Anglo-Saxon England. Hence in the case of Alcfrid we have every reason to suppose that he was really and virtually king over Deira, and exercised all the rights and jurisdictions, and had all the appanages of an independent sovereign.

According to the Ecclesiastical History of the Venerable Bede, from whom, of course, I derive the chief part of this biography, Alfrid was one of the sons of Oswy, and, according to Eddie, reigned along with his father. (31)

Of the early life of Alfrid little is recorded, except that "he was instructed in Christianity by Wilfrid, a most learned man, who had first gone to Rome to learn the ecclesiatical doctrine." Eddie informs us that he entreated Wilfrid to reside with him, and preach the Word of God to him and his people, and that Wilfrid complied with his affectionate request, and that they became attached to each other, even as the souls of David and Jonathan. Hence Alcfrid became attached to the customs of Rome, and thought that Wilfrid's doctrine ought to be preferred before all the traditions of the Scottish or native priests. Alcfrid probably became King of Deira about the year 650, when his father Oswy slew Oswin, who was at that time king of that province. Of such a fact, however, we have no record, nor is there any record of the time and place of his death. So far as can be ascertained he disappears from history about the year 665, *i. e.*, nearly 1,200 years from this time. In the year 642 we find Alcfrid in rebellion against his father. Oswy, having succeeded to the kingdom of Northhumbria, was (as Bede informs us, Lib. 3, ch. 14) harassed by Penda the Pagan King of Mercia, and by the Pagan nation of the Mercians, that had slain his brother, as also by his son Alcfrid, and by Ethelwald, the son of his brother who resigned before him. (32)

Alcfrid appears to have been firmly attached to Wilfrid, an able Englishman of the Roman party, whose attainments had been matured in southern Europe. He gave him a monastery of forty families at a place called Rhypum (Ripon) according to Bede (Lib. 3, ch. 25); which place he had not long before given to those that followed the

(31) He could not be the son of Eanfleda, for we find him mentioned in the year 642, nine years before the marriage of Oswy and Eanfleda, and yet he appears to have been warmly attached to his mother-in-law, and influenced by her Christian principles.

(32) Geoffrey of Monmouth (book 2, ch. 11) calls this Alfrid the brother of Oswy. As Geoffrey, however, did not write before the twelfth century (a few hundred years after Bede and the events narrated) we may presume that the statement of Bede is the more correct. From the narrative of Geoffrey we learn that this insurrection was commenced in consequence of Oswy making large presents of gold and silver to Cadwalla, who was at that time possessed of the government of all Britain, and because Oswy had made peace with, and submission to him.

system of the Scots for a monastery; but forasmuch as they afterwards, being left to their choice, prepared to quit the place rather than alter their religious opinions, he gave the place to Wilfrid. (33) From Bede's History of the Abbots of Weremouth we learn that Alchfrid was desirous to make a pilgrimage to the shrines of the Apostles at Rome, and had engaged Biscop to accompany him on his journey, who had just returned from that place; but the King (Oswy) prevented his son's journey. At the request of Alcfrid, Agilbert (bishop of the West Saxons, who was on a visit to Oswy and Alcfrid in the province of the Northhumbrians) made Wilfrid a priest in his monastery at Dorchester, near Oxford. So says Bede, but Eddie informs us that he ordained him priest at Ripon according to the King's command. Among the Bernicians was the episcopal seat of Hagustaldum, or Hexham, which was bestowed by King Alcfrid upon St. Cuthbert, which Malmesbury (somewhat mistaken in the scale of miles) placed but 50 miles from Yorke, and commendeth for "beauty of structure before any building on this side the Alps." In this church sat nine bishops, among whom the learned John of Beverley was advanced to that dignity by King Alcfrid, and then swayed the pastoral staff, till he was translated to Yorke. About the year 652 (according to some authorities 644) we find Alcfrid and Oswy jointly presiding over a religious controversy respecting the observance of Easter. (34)

Bede informs us that the Middle Angles were converted to Christianity through the instrumentality of Alcfrid. Peada, their king, came to Oswy, requesting his daughter for a wife. Oswy refused to comply unless he

(33) In reference to this monastery we find the following statement in Bede's Life of St. Cuthbert (sect. 12)—"And when some years after it pleased King Alcfrid, for the redemption of his soul, to give to the Abbot Eata a certain dominion in his kingdom called 'In Hrypum,' there to construct a monastery, the same Abbot taking some of the brethren along with him, amongst whom Cudberct was one, he founded the required monastery, and in it he instituted the same monastic discipline which he had previously established at Melrose." Bede, in his history of the Abbots of Weremouth also says—"Alchfrid gave Rippon to Eata, Abbot of Melrose, to build a monastery there; he afterwards gave this monastery to Wilfrid, and Eata with his monks returned to Mailros." These statements are partly confirmed by Eddie in his Life of Wilfrid, who says—(ch. 8,) that "Alcfrid's love for Wilfrid increased from day to day, and that he gave him the land of ten tributary families at Estanford, and a short time afterwards the monastery In HRypis, with the land of 30 families, for the safety of his soul, and appointed him Abbot, and that all the people (noble and ignoble) looked upon him as a prophet of God."

(34) Bede, in his account of this controversy, is considered by some to have been a zealous adversary of the Scottish and ancient British observance of Easter, and to have shewn at all points a leaning towards the church of Rome. Oswy, who had been instructed and baptized by the Scots or native priests, and was very perfectly skilled in their language, thought nothing better than what they taught, and kept the Easter festival according to the primitive British customs. His wife Eanfleda, however, who had been brought up in the Court of Kent, which had been converted to Christianity by missionaries from Rome, would not abandon the Kentish usages for those of Northhumbria, being in this probably supported by Alcfrid and his partizans. Hence Easter was celebrated at the Court of Oswy on different days; one party enjoying its festivities, while the other placed in strong contrast with them the austerities of Lent. At length Oswy consented to purchase domestic peace by hearing a solemn argument in the monastery which he had recently founded at Whitby. The cause was conducted on the part of the British by Colman, then bishop of Northhumbria or Lindisfarne, assisted by Chad, bishop of Essex. On the part of Rome, or the Kentish usages, Agilbert was the principal, but he devolved the advocacy of his cause upon Wilfrid, on account of his own imperfect acquaintance with the Anglo-Saxon language. The British, or national divines, insisted chiefly upon a tradition, originating, as alleged, in St. John, our Lord's beloved disciple. The foreign party traced the Roman tradition to St. Peter, who was, as they said, intrusted by Christ with the keys of Heaven. "Were they really intrusted to him?" asked Oswy. "Undoubtedly so," he was answered. "And can you allege the grant of any such privilege to an authority of yours?" Oswy then demanded. "We cannot," Colman replied. "I must leave your party then," said Oswy, "for I should not choose to disoblige him who keeps the keys of Heaven. It might be found impossible to get the door open when I seek admittance." Thus Oswy decided in favour of the Roman party in a way which reminds us of the language of one of Cooper's braves of the wigwam, and his decision was generally applauded. The result of this controversy was that the ancient usages of Britain were formally renounced as to the time of observing Easter. Colman and many of his adherents were disgusted, and retired to their brethren in Scotland. Eddie gives a brief account of this Paschal controversy in the 10th chapter. It may be observed, however, that this triumph of the Roman party involved little or no change in articles of belief. We have no evidence that any papal peculiarities of doctrine were then established. Mosheim (century 7, ch. 3) says:—"In Britain warm controversies concerning baptism, the tonsure, and particularly the famous dispute concerning the time of celebrating the Easter festival, were carried on between the ancient Britons and the new converts to Christianity which Augustine had made among the Anglo-Saxons. The fundamental doctrines of Christianity were not at all affected by these controversies, which, on that account, were more innocent and less important than they otherwise would have been. Besides, they were entirely terminated in the 8th century, in favour of the Anglo-Saxons, by the Benedictine Monks. It should also be noted that although Wilfrid appealed to the authority of the Roman See, as deserving respectful attention, yet he did not claim for it any right of deciding the controversy. In the opinon of some the Roman party might

would embrace the faith of Christ. When he heard the preaching of truth, the promise of the heavenly kingdom, and the hope of resurrection and future immortality, he declared that he would willingly become a Christian, even though he should be refused the virgin; being chiefly prevailed on to receive the faith by King Oswy's son Alcfrid, who was his relation and friend, and had married his sister Cyneburga, the daughter of King Penda. Accordingly he was baptized with all his earls and soldiers.

In the year 665 Alcfrid sent Wilfrid with a great multitude of men and much money to the King of France, to be consecrated bishop over him (Alcfrid) and his people. In Wilfrid, however, real excellencies appear to have been alloyed by levity and ostentation. He did not hasten to return after his consecration, but thoughtlessly displayed his new dignity amidst the tempting hospitalities of Gaul. Alcfrid, his royal patron, became disgusted by this delay, and conferred the Northhumbrian bishopric upon another. (35)

From Bede, and others of our old British Chroniclers, we find Alcfrid, in the year 655, fighting on the side of his father Oswy against his father-in-law Penda, the King of Mercia.

Although the Pagans had three times the number of men, yet King Oswy, and his son Alcfrid, met them with a very small army, confiding, it is said, in the conduct of Christ, Oswy having previously vowed that, if he should come off victorious, he would dedicate his daughter to our Lord in holy virginity, and give twelve farms to build monasteries. The engagement beginning, the Pagans were defeated, the thirty commanders, and those who had come to the assistance of Penda, were put to flight, and almost all of them slain. The battle was fought near the river Vinwed (Winwidfield), near Leeds, which then, with the great rains, had not only filled its channel, but overflowed its banks, so that many more were drowned in flight than destroyed by the sword. (36)

Such is the history of Alcfrid as it has been handed down to us by our British historians. We may now take a passing glance at his supposed death. Bede (Lib. 3, ch. 27,) tells us that in the year 644 a sudden pestilence (called by some the yellow plague) depopulated the southern coasts of Britain, and, extending into the province of the Northhumbrians, ravaged the country far and near, and destroyed a great multitude of men. The pestilence did no less harm in Ireland. This plague is also mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle *under the same date;* in one of the manuscripts of Nennius; and in Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. 3). It has been presumed that Alcfrid fell a victim to this plague. If so, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he breathed his last in his Saxon city of Bewcastle, and that he was buried here. Against this supposed cause of his death, however, we must bear in mind that, in the year 665, *i. e.*, the year after the plague, Bede informs us that Alcfrid sent Wilfrid to France for consecration, and a similar statement had been previously made by Eddie. (37)

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have prevailed before had it not been for the uncommon merits of Aidan and Finian, and that its prevalence on this occasion arose from Colman being not equal to his predecessors. A principal reason, however, may have been the influence which Eanfleda exercised over the compliant mind of her husband Oswy."

(35) Bede, Lib. 3, ch. 28.—Soames, p. 66.—William of Malmesbury, Lib. 3.—Henry of Huntingdon, Lib. 3.

(36) Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. 3), speaking of this battle, says that "the Almighty God was present with His people, and dissolved the fortitude of King Penda, and took away from his arms the usual strength of his nerves, and ordered his brave heart to pine with grief, so that he neither recognized himself in his blows, nor was he impenetrable to the arms of his enemies: and he was amazed that his enemies were such as he used to be to his enemies, while on the other hand he was such as they used to be. He, who therefore had always shed the blood of others, now experienced what he himself had done, while he tinged the earth with his own blood, and covered it with his brains."

(37) Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. 3), and Bede, both relate that Tuda, *the Bishop of* Northumbria, fell a victim to its ravages, but neither of them state that such was the death of *King Alcfrid;* a strong presumption that the king did not perish in this plague. St. Chad is also said to have been taken with the contagion while on a visit to his beloved solitude of Lestingau, which put an end to his mortal life. Bede, in his life of St. Cuthbert, tells us that "this great pestilence, which made such havoc in Britain and Ireland, visited also the monastery of Mailros, where St. Cuthbert was seized with it. All the brethren passed the night in prayer for him, as looking upon the life of so holy a man most necessary for the edification of their community. In the morning they told him what they had been doing: at which, rising up, he called for his shoes and his staff, saying—'Why do I lie here any longer; God will certainly hear the prayers of so many holy men.' And so it was; for he quickly recovered." It is also said that Boisil had foretold this plague three years before, and that he himself should die of it, which came to pass. (Ibid.)

*Hwætred.*

The preceding sketch embraces every thing which I can find recorded in history respecting Alcfrid. Besides the names of Oswy and Alcfrid, the words Hwætred, Wæthgar, and Alwfwolthu seem to require a slight notice, as they resemble Anglo-Saxon names which we find recorded in history.

The word Hwætred is compounded of "hwæt, wit, with, or wiht"—"quick or sharp;"—and of "red, rede, rad, or rod," (differing only in dialect), signifying "counsel." Hence Hwætred means "quick in counsel." The word "Hwætred" occurs in the Codex Exoniensis, 477, 5, in a poem called "The Ruin." Thorpe translates it as an adjective. Ethmüller, in his Dictionary, gives the word as a proper name. A person named Withred, or Wihtred, is mentioned by Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. 4), and by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as King of Kent in the year 692. Higden mentions him as King in the year 686, and calls him "Whitred," the legitimate son of Egbert. This person may possibly be the party whose name is here recorded. At all events he appears to have entertained religious views and aspirations similar to those of Alcfrid. Queen Eanfleda had been brought up at the Court of Kent, and was sent for by Oswy in the year 651, and became his wife. This Witred, who might at that time be one of the young princes at that Court, may have attended her on her marriage journey to Northhumbria, or may have visited the Northumbrian Court at some subsequent period, and thus have formed an attachment to Alcfrid, and afterwards erected this Cross to his memory.

*Wæthgar.*

This word is derived from "with,"—"quick or sharp"—and "gar or gær"—"a spear": hence it signifies "quick or expert in the use of the spear." It may be also a proper name. A person named "Wihtgar" (the h before the t) is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, anno 514, as Lord of the Isle of Wight. He was the first to establish an Anglo-Saxon colony there. He also was the founder of Carisbrooke Castle. Camden (p. 130,) says that it was called "Whitgaraburgh," from him, and now by contraction "Caresbrook." Of course he cannot be the person whose name is recorded on this monument, but we may draw an inference that such a name was in use among the Anglo-Saxons.

*Alfwold.*

"Aelf," which, according to various dialects, as Camden says, is pronounced "ulf, wolph, hulph, hilp, helfe, or helpe," implies "assistance." "Wold or wald" means "a ruler or governor." Hence the word Alfwold means "an auxiliary governor." But it may also be a proper noun, occurring under a variety of modes of spelling. (38) William of Malmesbury mentions a King of the East Angles named "Elwold" soon after the time of Alcfrid, who might possibly be the person mentioned here. Bede says that Sigebert, the King of the East Angles, often visited the Court of Northhumbria, and was converted to the Christian faith in A.D. 653, through the persuasion of Oswy. This Elwold may have attended Sigebert on some of these occasions, and thus have become acquainted with, and attached to Alcfrid, and hence from motives of friendship and regard he may have aided in erecting this pillar to his memory.

We may now return to a further examination of the Cross. Below the chief inscription is a figure, which, as Bishop Nicholson says, "represents the portraiture of a layman with a hawk or eagle perched on his arm."

It seems strange, therefore, that so many deaths should be detailed, and yet that there should be no record of the death of King Alcfrid, *if he perished in this plague.*

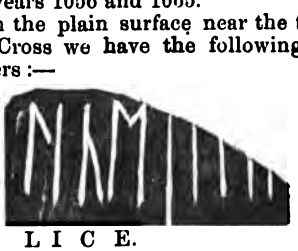
(38) In Ingram's Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 778, we find "Alfwold" mentioned as a King of Northhumbria, and a note upon this passage says "*Alfold. Cot.*" Again in A.D. 780, we find him called "Alwold," and a note says, "*Aelfwold Lands.*" In 789 he died and was buried at Hexham. Higden says that he was slain by his own people. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle also mentions a person of the name of "Alfwold" as bishop of Dorset, who died in A.D. 978. Henry of Huntingdon mentions one "Owlfhold" about A.D. 910. A King of the East Angles is mentioned by Roger de Hoveden as dying A.D. 749, whom he calls "Elfwald." He also uses the word "Elwald," "Alfwald," and "Elfwold." In the Anglo-Saxon Charters we find this name with the Latin terminations "dus" and "thus," and their several inflections. Hence we have Alwfwolthu as an Anglo-Saxon corruption of Alwfwolthus or Alwfwolthum. We often find the Latin termination dropped entirely, and the word ending in "wald or wold." The first syllable occurs in the Anglo-Saxon Charters under various modes of spelling. We find "Alf, Elf, Olf, Ælf;" and in a charter of Eadwig (A.D. 956, Ms. Lands. 417, fol. 11, b.) we have the name "Alwlf," which has a great resemblance to the orthography of the Bewcastle Cross.

Hutchinson describes it as "the effigies of a person of some dignity, in a long robe to the feet, but without any dress or ornament on the head: on a pedestal against which this figure leans is a bird, which, we conceive, is a raffen, or raven, the insignia of the Danish standard. This figure seems designed to represent the personage for whom the monument was erected, and though accompanied with the raven, bears no other marks of royal dignity." In Lysons it is thus spoken of: "At the bottom on the west side is sculptured, in bas-relief, the figure of a man bare-headed, habited in a gown which reaches to the middle of his legs, holding a bird (most probably a hawk) on his hand, just above its perch." To these nearly correct observations of the Lysons I would only add that the figure is not bare headed, but appears to be covered with something resembling a close hood.

*South Side.*

The sculpture on the south side is divided into five compartments. In the bottom, central, and top divisions are magical knots. In the second are two vines intersecting each other, and in the fourth is another vine, in one of the curves of which a vertical sun-dial has been placed, somewhat resembling the dial placed over the Saxon porch on the south side of Bishopstone Church, in Sussex, and also resembling the Saxon dial placed over the south porch of Kirkdale Church, in the North Riding of Yorkshire: a short description of each of which may be found at page 60 of the eleventh volume of the Archæological Journal. In the Bewcastle Dial the principal divisions are marked by crosses, as on the fore-mentioned dials, which are considered examples of a very early date, the Kirkdale Dial having been made, as it is supposed, between the years 1056 and 1065.

On the plain surface near the top of the Cross we have the following characters:—



L I C E.

The word "lic" or "lice" is very distinct, but of the remaining letters we have only the lower part. On the east side of the Cross, where the sentence has probably been continued and completed, this plain surface is totally gone so as to leave no traces whatever, so that this part of the inscription may be considered as irreparably lost. The word "lic," or "lice," may perhaps be intended to express something respecting "a dead body." In the Dream of the Holy Rood (Archæologia, vol. 30, p. 31,) the word "lices" occurs, and signifies the corpse of our Saviour. The word "lice" may also be part of the word "liceman"—a body.

Between the highest and the next compartment are traces of letters which I read thus:—

E C G F R I [THU],

*i. e.*, "of Ecgfrid." Ecgfrid was the son of Oswy, and brother of Alchfrid, and succeeded his father in the kingdom of Northhumbria in the year 670, according to the Ang. Sax. Chronicle. Eddie (ch. 20) speaks of him as king of both Deira and Bernicia. In the year 660 he married Etheldrida, the daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles, who lived with him 12 years, and at last retired as a nun into the monastery of the Abbess Edda (the aunt of Ecgfrid) at Coludi (Coldingham), Berwickshire. Egfrid afterwards married Ermenburga. Eddie says that while Etheldrida lived with him he was triumphant everywhere, but after the separation he ceased to be victorious.

Egfrid appears to have been instrumental in founding the monasteries at Wearmouth and Jarrow. (39)

In 685 Egfrid rashly led his army to ravage the province of the Picts, much

(39) Bede, in his history of the Abbots of Weremouth, says that he bestowed on Biscop, of his own possessions, as much land as might maintain 70 families, ordering him to build thereon a monastery, which was accordingly performed. This monastery was built at the mouth of the river Were (thence called Weremouth) in the year 674. The king was so well pleased with the zeal and industry of Biscop, and with the fruits which began plentifully to spring from this pious foundation, that he afterwards added to his former donation a second gift of lands, on which Biscop built another monastery on the opposite side of the same river. This was the monastery of Jarrow. These monasteries were destroyed by the Danes, but a small priory was afterwards established at Jarrow.

against the advice of his friends, and particularly of Cuthbert, who had lately been appointed Bishop of Hexham by him. The enemy made show as if they fled, and the king was drawn into the straits of inaccessible mountains and slain, with the greatest part of his forces. Egfrid is said to have carried his conquests to the western ocean, and held Cumberland as a tributary province of his kingdom.

Between the second and third divisions (from the top) of the decorated parts of the Cross we find traces of Runes, which I venture to read thus :—

RICES [TH]ÆS:

*i. e.*, "of this kingdom,"—the kingdom of Northhumbria.

Between the third and fourth divisions we also find traces of characters :

thus—KYNINGES, *i. e.*, "King."

Between the lowest and second compartment is another line of Runes which has been noticed by Spelman and others as previously described. I would suggest that the line may be read thus :—

+ FRU[MA]N GEAR,

*i. e.*, "in the first year." The four lines on this side of the Cross are evidently connected with each other, and are to be read thus :—"fruman gear Ecgfrithu kyninges rices thæs,"—*in the first year (of the reign) of Egfrid, king of this kingdom of Northhumbria, i. e.*, A. D. 670, in which year we may conclude that this monument was erected.

The form of date used on this monument may be considered rather peculiar. Some are of opinion (perhaps without sound grounds) that the era of the Incarnation was not introduced into England till the time of Bede, *i. e.*, about a century after the erection of this pillar. It is a remarkable fact that we have only two original charters of the seventh century, and that the date of the Incarnation does not appear in either of these documents. We cannot infer, however, from this fact that such a mode of dating was then unknown. This would be pushing an argument to an unjust conclusion. Such an inference would be an abuse of the rules of logic. It may be remarked, however, that the mode of dating by the regnal years of the kings was frequently adopted, as must be well known to every one conversant in Anglo-Saxon diplomacy; and I think there can be little question but such a mode has been adopted on this monument.

*North Side.*

On the north side are also five compartments occupied by sculpture. In the highest and lowest divisions we find vines with foliage and fruit. Mr. Smith considers them "as probably the Danish symbols of fertility, as Amalthea's horn was among the Greeks." In the second and fourth divisions are two curiously devised, and intricately twisted knots, often called "magical knots," and by some considered the "knotwork of Scottish and Irish sculptors." The third division is filled with a quantity of chequerwork. (40.)

(40) This chequerwork is pronounced by Mr. Smith to be "a Scythian method of embellishing funeral ornaments"; and is regarded by Bishop Nicholson "as a notable emblem of the tumuli or burying places of the Ancients." Camden says—"Seeing the cross is chequered like the arms of Vaux, we may suppose that it has been erected by some of them." Hutchinson thinks that "the cross must of necessity be allowed to bear a more ancient date than any of the remains of that name; which cannot be run up higher than the Conquest." He also thinks that "armorial bearings were not in use at the same time as the Runic characters." It is probable, however, that this chequerwork had no reference to the family of Vaux or De Vallibus, as they were not really and legally possessed of the Lordship of Bewcastle until the reign of Henry the Second, or about the middle of the 12th century, which is too late a period for the decoration of this monument. The late ingenious Mr. Howard suggested that "very possibly the family of De Vallibus took their arms from this column, being one of the most remarkable things in the barony." The cheque appears to have been a device used by the Gauls and Britons long before the erection of this cross. The Gaulic manufactory of woollen cloth spoken of by Diodorus (Lib. 5), and in Pliny's Natural History (Lib. 8, ch. 48), was woven chequer-wise, of which our Scottish plaids are perfect remains. Bishop Anselm's Book concerning "Virginity," written about the year 680—the era of the cross nearly—when the art of weaving in this country was probably in a comparatively rude state, contains a distinct indication that chequered robes were then in fashion; and many of the figures in Rosselini's Egyptian work are dressed in chequered cloths. The cheques are still retained in common use to this day among the inhabitants of Wales, the

Immediately above the lowest compartment is one line of Runic characters of which Bishop Nicholson in his letter to Mr. Walker says, "Upon first sight of these letters I greedily ventured to read them 'Rynburn'; and I was wonderfully pleased to fancy that this word thus singly written must necessarily betoken the final extirpation, and burial of the magical Runæ, in these parts, reasonably hoped on the conversion of the Danes to the Christian faith." The learned prelate also conjectured that the word might be "Ryeeburn," which he takes in the old Danish language to signify "a burial place of the dead." The representation of these Runes given by the Bishop is inaccurate, and he has evidently comprehended in it some of the flutings of the pillar. It is difficult to imagine how the Bishop could fall into such an error, for the letters on this side of the monument are still perfect and legible, having been fortunately preserved from the effects of the weather by their proximity to the Church, which has afforded them its friendly shelter; and in the manuscript journal which the Bishop kept of his visitation in 1703 the Runes are more correctly traced by him.

Mr. Smith dissents from the reading of the Bishop, and rather thinks it to be a sepulchral monument of the Danish kings. He reads it "Kuniburuk," which, he says, in the old Danish language, imports "the burial place of a king." Mr. Smith, however, agrees with the Bishop that it may also have been designed for a standing monument of conversion to Christianity which might have happened on the loss of their king, and each be mutually celebrated by it. But from the inscription on the west side it does not appear to have been intended for anything more than a memorial cross.

Mr. Kemble, with Mr. Howard's plate as a guide, who traced it thus,

pronounced the word to be "CYNIBURUG" or "CYNIBURUK," the proper name of a lady; and he attached some value to it as proving the inscription Anglo-Saxon—not Norse.

After repeated and careful examinations the letters appear to me to be—

KYNNBUR(THU)G,

the name of the wife of Alchfrid. Eddie, who wrote about fifty years after the erection of the cross, does not mention the name of Alcfrid's queen; but in Stephenson's edition of Bede (who probably wrote his history about 100 years after the erection of the monument) we read of a lady whom he calls "Cyneburga," the daughter of Penda, King of Mercia, and the wife of Alcfrid. This is undoubtedly the same person, the name having somewhat changed in a century. In Ingram's edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in the year 656, we read of "Kyneburg" and "Kynesuuith," the daughters of King Penda, and the sisters of Wulfhere who in that year is said to have succeeded his brother Peada in the kingdom of the Mercians. These ladies appear to have counselled their brother Wulfhere to endow and dignify the monastery at Medehamstede, (41) which in the year 963 was named Peterborough, and in that year we read in the above-named chronicle that Elfsy, who was then Abbot, took up the bodies of St. Kyneburh and St. Kyneswith, who lay at Castor, and brought them to Peterborough. (42)

descendants of the ancient Britons: and so great is their veneration for their ancient emblem that whenever a Welchman leaves his native mountains to reside in an English town, he is sure to carry this symbol along with him. Shops with the sign of the chequers were common even among the Romans, as is evident from the views of Pompeii presented by Sir W. Hamilton to the Antiquarian Society. A human figure in a chequered robe is sculptured on the side of an altar which was found in digging a cellar for the Grapes Inn, on the site of the Roman Station at Carlisle, thus establishing the probability that the cheque was used among the Romans in Britain. We read also of nets of chequer-work in the days of King Solomon, 1 Kings, vii., 17.

(41) It may appear strange that Wulfhere should have adopted the counsel of his sisters, but it must be borne in mind that the ladies were very important personages in the days of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers. Gurdon, in his Antiquities of Parliament, says—"The ladies of birth and quality sat in council with the Saxon Witas." The abbess Hilda, says Bede, presided in an ecclesiastical Synod. In Wighfred's great council at Beccanceld, A.D. 694, the abbesses sat and deliberated; and five of them signed decrees of the council.

(42) William of Malmesbury (Lib. 1, ch. 4) tells us that Cyneberg retired to the monastery which her brothers Wulfhere and Ethelred had built, and that she and her sister Kyneswith were superior to others of their sex for the piety and

In the "Britannia Sancta" Cyneburg is spoken of as a devout and fervent Christian, whose heart was much more set on the kingdom of heaven than on her earthly diadem: insomuch that she had an impatient desire to quit the world and all its vanities, and to consecrate herself, body and soul, to Jesus Christ. By her means, in a short time, King Alchfrid's Court was converted in a manner into a monastery, or school of regular discipline and Christian perfection. After her release from the matrimonial bond by the death of her husband she returned into her native country of Mercia, and there chose for the place of her retreat a town then called Dormundcaster, afterwards from her Kyneburgcastor—now Castor or Caistor. Here she built, or (as others say) found already built by her brother Wulfhere, a monastery for sacred virgins, over whom she became mother and abbess. To this monastery, as we learn from the author of her life in Capgrave, many virgins of all ranks and degrees resorted, to be instructed by her in rules and exercises of a religious life; and whilst the daughters of princes reverenced her as a mistress, the poor were admitted to regard her as a companion: and both the one and the other honoured her as a parent. She was, says this author, a mirror of all sanctity. She had a wonderful compassion and charity for the poor, exhorting kings and princes to almsgiving and works of mercy. Henschenius is positive that she died before the year 680, but Higden says that she was appointed over the Monastery of Glovernia in 681.

*Kyneswitha.*

Between the second and third compartments (from the bottom) is another very indistinct line of Runes which I venture to read thus—

KYNESWI[TH]A.

This was the name of the mother as well as a sister of Cyneburg. Of the mother, nothing of note is recorded. From the two sisters being so frequently mentioned together, and from the similarity of their religious views and feelings, we may presume that they were strongly attached to each other, and that the sister's name is recorded here. William of Malmesbury (Lib. 4) says that she was dedicated to God from her infancy, and that she kept her glorious resolution to her old age. Not content with saving herself alone, she prevailed also with King Offa, to whom she had (against her will) been promised in marriage, to devote himself to a single life. She afterwards retired to the Monastery of Dormundcaster, where she died, "after having lived a pattern of all virtues for many years."

*Wulfhere.*

Between the third and fourth compartments is another line of Runes which, though indistinct, appears to be—

MYRCNA KYNG,

*i.e.*, King of the Mercians.

The above line of Runes appears to be connected with another line between the fourth and fifth divisions, which may be read thus—

WULFHERE,

who was a son of Penda, brother of Cyneburg, and King of the Mercians. He succeeded his brother Peada in the year 657, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. (43)

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chastity of their lives. Henry of Huntingdon (Lib. 3) calls this lady Chineburgam, and her sister Cinewissem. Ingulph of Croyland calls her Kynenburgam, and says that she and her sister were "ambas sanctâ continentiâ præcellentes." Kyneburg appears to have made large presents to the monastery at Medehamstede, for when it was destroyed by the Danes, A D. 870, Ingulph says that "the precious gifts" of the holy virgins Kineburgæ and Kinespitæ were trodden under foot; and in another passage he calls these gifts "sacred relics," and says that the Abbot took them away with him in his flight. Ranulph Higden (Lib. 5, Anno 681) says that Osric, King of the Mercians, built a monastery de Glovernia, over which he appointed his sister Kineburgam.

(43) He is represented by Malmesbury as a man of great strength of mind and body, and although a zealous Christian yet his reputation was sullied by an act of simony, being the first of the kings of the Angles who sold the bishopric of London. In the year 657 we find him engaged in the foundation and endowment of the monastery of Medehamstede. He is said to have granted large tracts of lands and fens to this monastery. From the Life of his Queen Ermenilda in

Eddie calls him Wlfarius, and says that he frequently invited Wilfrid (while Abbot at Ripon) to go into Mercia, and exercise the office of bishop there, and that he made many grants of lands, for the salvation of his soul, where he presently appointed monasteries. In the year 661 we find him instrumental in converting the people of the Isle of Wight: and in the year 665 he was a means of the reconversion of the East Saxons, who had begun to restore the temples that had been abandoned, and to adore idols, as if they might by those means be protected against the mortality, *i.e.*, the yellow plague. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the year 675, Wulfhere and Escwin fought at Beadanhead; and the same year Wulfhere died.

On the plain surface near the top of the Cross are the following characters:

The three Crosses may be emblematical of the crucifixion, the central one appearing rather higher than the others. The word "GESSUS" is very plain, all the letters being quite distinct except the G, and the part where the U and the S approach each other, which appears to have experienced some injury. (44)

The word "Gessus" is evidently connected with the fragments of the word "Kristtus" on the west side; and has probably formed part of a sentence which has been completed on the two other sides, but of which only a small portion now remains.

Having made this minute and, I fear, tedious attempt to explain the inscriptions on this cross, I may now leave the subject in the hands of those who are more versed in such recondite researches, hoping that if there be another and a better solution of the enigma, it may be found.

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Capgrave, we learn that he was induced, through her influence, to root out of his dominions, the worship of idols, and all heathenish superstitions; and to stock his kingdom with priests and churches for the worship of the true and living God. He is also said to have contributed liberally towards the foundation of a monastery for religious virgins at Wenlock in Shropshire. He also by his bounty enabled Bishop Chadd to found a monastery at a place called Barrow, in the province of Lindsey.

(44) The letter S has a little peculiarity in its form, the last stroke being carried up nearly to the same height as the top of the other letters. The letter S in the word "Oswiuing" appears to have the same form; as also some others on this monument; and there is one somewhat similar to it on the Ruthwell pillar. There is also an S of a similar form in the Runic inscription in Carlisle Cathedral.

## MR. HAIGH'S VERSION.

It is now my painful duty to make a few observations on a different version of these inscriptions, which has been offered by the Rev. D. H. Haigh, of Erdington, near Birmingham, read before the Society of Antiquarians of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and since published in their transactions. I feel extreme reluctance in entering upon this course, but I also feel that I have been driven into it through the officiousness of certain parties, the patrons of Mr. Haigh's version. Mr. Robert White, to whom I have already alluded, in a letter to the Gateshead Observer, dated Oct. 29, 1856, after acknowledging his own ignorance of Runes, throws out an insinuation that I am equally ignorant of the language, and its characters. In a paper on Runes, read at the January meeting, 1856, of the Antiquarian Society, at Newcastle, Dr. Charlton introduced Mr. Haigh's version, and then alluded to one which had been suggested by myself, and although Dr. Charlton had never seen the Bewcastle pillar, and consequently could have had no opportunity of comparing either version with the original, yet he expressed an opinion that the version of Mr. Haigh was "the more probable of the two, and nearer the truth." Other insinuations have been made against my version by parties who know nothing of the Runic language. I feel, therefore, called upon to enter into a minute detail, and to adopt a course which I should not have thought of adopting under other circumstances.

My first acquaintance with Mr. Haigh arose from a letter which I received from him, in which he requested me to send him a rubbing of the chief inscription. In this letter, amongst other things, he stated that he had a "suspicion that the long inscription, and one of the others, present us with the name of a king of Northumberland," *without however mentioning his name.* In my reply, promising him a rubbing, I asked him whether Alfrid was the Northumberland king to whom he alluded; my attention having from an early period been directed to Alfrid, from the suggestion made by Mr. Howard to the Antiquarian Society, and from a communication I received from another party in 1852 respecting Cyneburg, and also from Kemble's observations on this name.

In reply, he stated that he expected to find the name of Alcfrid, and also the name of Sighard, or Sigfrid, in the chief inscription. In another letter he said that he also expected to find the name of Alfrid in the bottom line on the south side, but before he came to the end of this letter he stated that a *new suspicion had come across his mind, that the bottom line of the south was more probably* "Oswiu Kyningk." He had not then seen any rubbing of this line, and consequently his reading was merely guessing.

I made a rubbing of the chief inscription, partly according to the process already described, except that (according to his instruction) *it was made with two sheets of brown paper, placed one above the other,* instead of one of thin white. The paper was thus too thick for such shallow letters and marks, and the rubbing was very confused, unintelligible, and illegible even by myself when standing by it, and making it, and having a tolerable idea of the letters beforehand. Having a lurking suspicion that his intentions were not altogether of a pure and disinterested character, I took special care that the rubbing should not be perfect and satisfactory in those parts where I had not decided as to the correct reading.

In acknowledging the receipt of this rubbing of the chief inscription, he said —"*all traces of impressions are effaced.*" *He felt satisfied however "that perfect impressions would enable him to read every letter"—"that he should have no difficulty in reading the whole if he could once get good impressions.*" But then here was the principal difficulty which every person has hitherto experienced who has made the slightest attempt to decipher these inscriptions.

Mr. Haigh stated in direct terms that "*all traces of impressions were effaced.*" After such a plain statement few persons would suppose that he would ever

attempt to impose a version of this inscription (from such a rubbing) either upon the Society of Antiquarians at Newcastle, or at any other place. Few persons, however, it would seem have any idea how sanguine some antiquarians become, and what confidence they assume in their own powers of success. *In a few days he did actually give, and without the least hesitation, a version of this long-lost inscription.*

Within a fortnight after he had stated that *all impressions were effaced*, I received a letter from him saying *that he could read the whole of them; that he felt quite sure of most of them, and that the name of Roetbert was most interesting, because the monumental inscription to his memory had been found at Falstone, not far from Bewcastle.* This, however, of course proved nothing. There might have been fifty stones found with the name of Roetbert inscribed upon them, and yet it would not follow that the fifty-first would necessarily have the same name upon it. In his letter, he gave me a part of his version, which commenced with the words "thæs sigbecun." I wrote to him by return of post stating that I had sometimes thought that the inscription might commence with "a cross" and the word "this," and stated some reasons both for and against it. I also stated some objections to the latter part of his word "sigbecun"; more especially the letter C, inasmuch as I could not find that his traces of this letter corresponded with the marks now remaining on the stone. A reading somewhat similar had been proposed long before I knew of the existence of such a person as Mr. Haigh.

In a few days I received another letter from him, which I thought to be of a somewhat snappish character. He said "the last letter of the first line is *certainly* *i.e.* C or K." This word "certainly" shows at least great confidence in his own power of reading the rubbings, especially when we recollect that he had so shortly before stated that "all traces of impressions were effaced.' He said the letter C or K, of the form given by him, was found also on the Ruthwell pillar, which, however, I do not look upon as any proof that this form of the letter should occur on the Bewcastle pillar also. *I have since very carefully examined the Ruthwell pillar, and I can find no letter upon it of the form given by him.* There is no such letter given in the accurate drawings of the Ruthwell pillar by Dr. Duncan, and I have no hesitation in stating that when Mr. Haigh said that the letter C or K, of the form given by him, was found on the Ruthwell pillar, *he was speaking without due caution. I now assert, without the least fear of contradiction, that no such letter occurs either on the Ruthwell, or the Bewcastle pillar.*

He also sent me in another letter his reading of another rubbing which I had sent him. The bottom line of the south side, which I read +FRU(MA)NGEAR is read by him OSWU CYN(ING) ELT, *i.e.*, Oswy King the elder—"elt" perhaps for "aelter," the elder or head of the family.

He says that he was puzzled with this line at first, *the rubbing was so black, but when he looked at the back of the rubbing he could read the impression of the letters distinctly.* He had in fact (as appeared from one of his former letters) formed his own convictions as to this reading by anticipation, *i. e.*, before he had seen the rubbing of it; and rather than acknowledge himself either beaten or in error, *he professes to read it by the back of the paper where there never was any rubbing at all.* It is evident that by such a mode any person would be capable of reading anything, or everything, just as his fancy might suggest. The first two letters of this line (the F and the R) are perfect; as well marked as any letters on the stone. They are letters about which I never experienced any doubt or difficulty, being distinctly visible at a considerable distance as soon as the moss was removed. He converts the letter —F—into an —S—thus rejecting marks which are quite plain, and substituting marks where none are visible: and by rejecting the tail of the letter —R—he contrives to convert it into the letter —W. Some of the other letters in this line are not so plain and distinctly legible.

The following was his version of the long inscription. I shall place mine by its side. The latter part of the woodcut represents his improved reading.

MAUGHAN'S.

+ [T H] I S S I G : B [E A] C N :
[T H U] N : S E T T O N : H
W [Æ T] R E D : W [Æ T H]
G A R : A L W F W O L
[T H U] : A F T : A L C F R I
[T H U] : E A N : C Y N I [I N G] :
E A C : O S W I U [I N G] :
+ G E B I D : H E
O : S I N N A : S A W [H U] L A.

He says—"If we find two false spellings in this inscription—Flwold for Felwold, and Gegidæd, for Gebidæd, I can only say that from my experience of other inscriptions I only wonder there are not more. We have even in this monument three other inscriptions, and every line of them is blundered." Thus it appears every thing must succumb to his conceptions of right and wrong. He even professes to know better how things should have been 1200 years ago than the person who wrote the inscriptions, who, according to the general opinion as to the origin of such Runic inscriptions, would be one of the learned ecclesiastics of that day. His version thus comprehends *two false spellings and three other blundered inscriptions*, while my version requires nothing of the kind. His reading was as follows:—

HAIGH'S.

+ [T H] I S : S I G B E C
U N : S E T T Æ : H
W Æ T R E D : W I T
G Æ R : F L W O L D
U : R O E T B [E R] T :
U M Æ : C Y N [I N G] :
A L C F R I [T H] Æ : G
E G I D Æ D :
H I S S U M : S A U L E.

+ This sigbecun settæ Hwætred Witgær Flwoldu Roetbert umæ Cyning Ælcfrithæ. Gegidæd hissum saule, *i. e.*, "Hwætred, Witgær, Felwold, and Roetbert set up this beacon of victory in memory of Ælcfrid. Pray for his soul."

Soon after he sent me his reading,

he wrote to me again, requesting me to enter upon all the trouble of making another set of rubbings for him at the inclement season of the new year—rubbings not only of the same parts which I had done before for him—but of some other parts—with fresh instructions as to the mode of proceeding, stating at the same time that his reading would be found to be correct. Before he could receive any answer from me, he arrived at Bewcastle. He *immediately commenced* making rubbings for himself, but after attempting in two or three places he gave it up—on what grounds he did not state. He then began to examine the stone with his eye and his finger. I shall now present the reader with a short review of his readings, *and his own exposition of them*, taken from a memorandum made as soon as he left.

As to the word "sigbecun" he said that the letter C was made thus— —, and showed me where the tracings of the letter had been, of which, however, I could not see the least relic now, and which did not at all correspond with the traces which were actually to be seen on the stone. The lower side—mark of my compound letter —EA—before my letter C, which is one of the best and deepest marks on the stone, which has evidently a connection with the letter E before it, but no visible connection with the letter C following it—this mark he said was the angular loop of his letter C. Being anxious to hear his opinions and explanations of the other parts of the stone, I did not venture to make any observations of an opposing nature, judging it most prudent to allow him to proceed when he was in a communicative humour. I merely observed, however, as it were casually, that there was a good trace of the side stroke of the letter —C—rather different from what he read it. He said peremptorily—"*it was a blot.*" He thus rejects the two perpendicular strokes of my letters C and N, which are very perfectly defined, and which have no break in the middle, as his letter C would require, and adopts a letter of which I cannot see full and satisfactory traces. He stated that my letter —C—was not in use at the time when this Cross was erected, but that the character as given by him was always used for a C. Where he gets this information from I know not—neither can I conceive how he can speak with authority on such a matter, when it has been hitherto a very doubtful and disputed point whether there were any Anglo-Saxon Runes at all at that period. Besides this word "beacn" I find the letter —for a C—in the words "*Alofrithu, eac, myrcna, lice, Ecgfrithu, and rices.*" In the words "*Kynnburthug, Kyneswitha, — Kyng, Kristtus, Kyniing, and Kyninges.*" I find a character rather similar to the form of the C as given by Mr. Haigh, but not exactly like it. In every instance where this character  —K—occurs on this monument, the lower part of it has always a flat top, no appearance of side-loops, and merely two dots above the side strokes. It certainly is not used as he shapes it. If it occurred in his word "sigbecun" as he shapes it, then the two upright strokes of my letters C and N would want about a third of their form in the middle of each of them, but no such want can be seen on the stone. The strokes are perfect and visible enough from top to bottom.

I then directed his attention to the appearance of marks across the letter  at the commencement of the second line, which, I thought, formed the trirunor, or compound Rune—THU—several instances of compound Runes appearing on the stone. He said "*they were merely accidental marks, and of no consequence at all.*"

The two following words, "settæ" and "Hwætred" are the only words in which our versions approach to the character of being "identical." I deciphered this part of the inscriptions a long time before Mr. Haigh made any attempt to do so.

Mr. Haigh next turned his attention to my word "Wæthgar," which he said *was or ought to be Witgær.* I pointed out the marks of the angle on the side of the last perpendicular stroke, which made it the compound letter TH, thus  (ÆTH.) He said "they were faults, *and ought not to have been there.* Although he spoke so positively

at that time as to the word "Witgær," yet he has since changed it into the words "eom gær."

As to the word "Flwoldu," he assured me he was quite correct about it. He showed me his tracings of the word, evidently adopting the slightest weather mark or injury to the stone where it suited him, and pronouncing the deepest and best-defined cuttings to be *blots, faults, or accidents*, when they did not suit him. *This he did throughout all the inscriptions.* Although he was so positive as to the word Flwoldu being the name of a person, he has since converted it into a common substantive, signifying "pestilence."

He now came to the word "Roetbert," which made him stare at first, but he soon saw his way through it, rejecting several of the existing marks, and placing marks where there were none.

On my observing that one of the letters had a very good upright stroke, and a good side stroke, diverging so as to resemble the letter —C— he again told me that such a letter was not then in use, and that it was introduced into the Runic alphabet at a subsequent period. But he reads this letter C as a B, *and in order to effect this, he gives it a side-loop at the top, of which there is no decisive trace, and he carries the bottom of the under side-loop down through the half-inch space between the lines of the inscription into the space between the letters Y and N of the line below. He said that such faults were quite common*, but how he contrives to make them quite common I know not, for the Bewcastle inscription is probably the only one of that early period, and this will be the only instance on this monument where the letter B is so formed—*if it is formed thus*.....Although he stated so dogmatically that Roetbert was the name of one of the parties who erected this monument, he has since changed his mind on this point, and now asserts that the monument was erected to him jointly with Alcfrid.

In the 6th line he found the word "umæ," which he translated "in memory of." I know of no Anglo-Saxon Dictionary or even Glossary where such a word occurs. He has since changed his word "umæ" into "ymb."

In the 7th line he gets his word "Alcfrithæ." To the first upright stroke he attaches an under side-mark, so as to form the letter A. Of this mark I can see no visible trace—no depression, such as might have been expected, if ever a mark had been cut here, and a part of the stone cut away. He reads the second upright stroke as the letter L. At the third letter C he requires too much space. Between the F and the R there is also rather too much space. His next two letters are so close together that the letter I is actually placed upon the side marks of his preceding letter R. An objection may also be raised against his word "Alcfrithæ," as applied to a person of the male sex. Proper names ending in "tha" generally denote a female. In Anglo-Saxon charters it is invariably so. We find *Kynigitha* and *Kynigithe*, Queen of Kent, mentioned in the same charter of her husband in 694. We also find *Mildrythæ*, Abbess of the Monastery in Thanet; *Frithogitha*, Queen of the West-Saxons; *Kyneswitha*, Queen of Offa, King of Mercia; also *Ælfrythæ*, another Queen of Mercia. We also find the names *Kynedritha*, *Etheldritha*, *Ælswytha*, and many others, but in no instance do we find a man's name ending in "tha" or "thæ." Higden (p. 251) mentions one Alfritha, the Queen of Kenulphus. Camden, speaking of Stonehenge, tells us that Alfritha, wife of King Edgar, built and endowed a stately nunnery that she might expiate her crime in killing her son-in-law, King Edward, by penance and good works. This is another instance of the word being applied to a female. Hence we have fair grounds for rejecting this word as the name of King Alcfrid.

In the word "Gegidæd," the letter —E has only one upright stroke visible on the stone, and how he forms the remainder of this word I can scarcely comprehend. He altered his words "hissum saule" into "heosum saulum"; *passing through the space between the lines again to get the top of the first letter* U *in "heosum," rejecting the cross bar of the* H *altogether in "sawhula,"* and attaching a side-mark to the top of one of its uprights so as to get his letter L.

Such are the two versions of this inscription. With the exception of a few friendly suggestions, I am only indebted for my version to my own time, my own labour, my own perseverance, and most especially to my own residence on the

spot, which has enabled me to examine and re-examine, to correct and re-correct, not only my own frequent errors, but also the errors of others.

In another paper read before the Society of Antiquaries at Newcastle Mr. Haigh has made some alterations of which I have only seen a translation in Roman letters; but not a copy of the Runic characters. In this paper he reads the chief inscription thus—"This sigbecun sættæ Hwætred eom gaer fiwoldu Roetbert ymb Alcfridæ. Gicegæd heosum saulum."—"This memorial set Hwætred in the great pestilence year to Roetbert to King Alcfride. Pray for their souls." On these alterations I shall now make a few remarks.

His first alteration occurs in his word "Witgær," which he changes into the two words "eom gaer." The word "eom" appears to be open to a few objections. The letters in this word require five perpendicular or full upright strokes, while on the stone there are only three. Besides, in the Anglo-Saxon language, the word "eom" is either a pronoun, meaning "to them"—"eom" for "heom," and that for the dative plural "him": or else it is the indicative mood of the defective verb "wesan"—"to be," and signifies, in plain English, "I am." I know of no instance where "eom" occurs for the preposition "in."

An objection may also be raised against the word "gaer." In Anglo-Saxon we have the word "gear," signifying "a year," but not the word "gaer." The Runic characters on the stone may be read "gar" or "gaer," but not "gear"; and hence, probably, he takes the liberty of transposing the vowels E and A, but we may question whether the liberty is not an unwarrantable one. I find a trace of every mark necessary for the word "Wæthgar"; but I feel bound to say that "eom gaer" appears a very doubtful reading. It also appears very doubtful whether Alfrid did die in the great pestilence year, for, according to Bede, he was alive in the following year.

In the first reading he introduced Roetbert as one of the party who erected the monument to Alcfrid, but in his second reading he supposes the monument to be raised *to him and King Alcfrid*. Of this Roetbert history leaves us no record, which appears rather strange if he was so eminent a personage as to be considered worthy of sharing the monument with King Alcfride. From what I have previously said on this word, however, a doubt may be fairly entertained whether the word "Roetbert" ever was placed on the monument.

He alters the word "umæ" into "ymb," which signifies "about,"—"around," *i. e.*, something winding about or compassing. It is very evident, however, that a stone pillar (although it is fifteen feet in length) would be a very unsuitable winding-sheet for the corpse of King Alcfrid. Its use on this monument, signifying "in memory of," seems rather a forced one. Besides, its proper position should have been *before* both the words "Roetbert" and "Alcfrid," *and not between them*, as it has reference to both words.

The word "gicegæd" appears to have some remarkable transformations rendering it what may be termed a "far fetched" word. I presume that it is originally derived from the verb "biddan"—"to pray," which, in the imperative mood, plural number, is thus formed "biddath"—"pray ye." In the first transformation, then, we have the word "biddath" changed into "biddæd." In the second transformation we have "biddæd" changed into "bigæd" In the third we have "bigæd" changed into "cegæd." In the fourth we have the expletive "ge" changed into "gi." Besides these transformations, which appear very forced and unwarrantable, very grave doubts may be entertained whether such Runic characters can be really traced on the stone. I have not seen Mr. Haigh's second readings of the other parts of the stone.

After examining the chief inscription Mr. Haigh inquired if there were any traces of letters on any other part of the Cross. I directed his attention to the flat space near the top on the north side, where I had observed some traces. He mounted a ladder, and soon found the letters to which I had directed him. After a little examination with his finger — scratching among the moss with the point of his knife—and then taking a rubbing, he made out the word "Gessu," as he supposed, and satisfied himself that there was nothing besides. I afterwards cleared the stone from its thick coat of lichens and moss, took careful rubbings, and painted the stone,

and I ascertained that the inscription consisted of three crosses and the word "Gessus," as I have previously stated.

He then set the ladder against the west side, and examined the plain surface near the top, but soon pronounced it barren, and that the inscription on this side (if ever there was one) was totally broken off. By careful examination I found remains of the word "Kristtus." In a letter which I have since received from him, he stated that he had found the letter A on the west side, when he examined it (of which, however, I heard nothing said at the time), and that he suspected it was the first letter of the word "Alpha," and that the word "Omega" would have been on the east side, which is now totally gone. He read the inscriptions on these plain surfaces thus: "Gessu" on the north side; "Kriste" on the south side; "Alpha" on the west side; and "Omega" on the east side; making the sentence "Jesu Christ, the beginning and the ending." This certainly is a very ingenious reading, but it is not confirmed by the existing traces of the letters.

He then examined the south side, and soon found what he had anticipated, namely, the word, or at least a part of the word, "Kristte," to correspond, as he said at the time, with the two lines on the west side, which I had discovered long before. After partly clearing away the moss with the point of his knife, and taking a rubbing, he was convinced that he had found the characters—

C R I S

very distinct, forming part of the word CRISTE. On a more careful examination, however, I found the letters to be LICE. These letters are now, when cleaned, very perfect, will receive the end of the finger very easily, and are quite visible to the eye. There fortunately cannot now be two opinions about them.

He next proceeded to inspect the other single lines on the south side of the pillar. *He examined the top line, and concluded that there had been nothing there.* He then came down to the next one, and after rubbing it a while with his finger, he fancied there *might be letters.* After a little further examination, he said he could find the words "Ecgfrid Cyng," "King Egfrid."

He then scraped the moss with the point of his knife in the places where he fancied the letters were lurking, and afterwards took a rubbing on strong dry paper (rubbing both ways across the stone, and then up and down) which rubbing, as a matter of course, gave him a faint trace—at least of the letter or marks which he had scratched in the lichen—if of nothing else. He was not long till he satisfied himself perfectly on this point, *i.e.* as to the words "Ecgfrid Cyng" having once occupied a place there. This is the line which I read "Rices thæs"—"of this kingdom."

His next step was to the line below, where, after a process something similar to the one already described, he found the word "Cyniburug," the name of Alefrid's queen.

This word I read "kyninges,"—"king." In one of his earliest letters to me he stated that he expected to find the word "Cyneburg" on one of the single lines on the south side to correspond with the same name on the north side.

In the bottom line he readily found the words "Oswu Cyning elt,"—"Oswy King the elder, as he had previously given them. These words I read thus—"+ fruman gear"—"in the first year."

He then said that there was one name which he should have liked better to have seen than any of them, and that was the name of Queen Eanfleda. I suggested that it might perhaps be found on the top line if it were more strictly examined. He remounted the ladder, and after a few rubs with his finger across the stone he said—"I do believe here is a letter." After a few more rubs with his finger he again said—"I do believe the name is here." He then applied the knife awhile, and

took a rubbing as before, and found the word "Eanflad," in

the first part of the line, and pronounced the remainder of the line blank. He was quite delighted with this discovery, and more especially with the particular form of the letter (EA). In fact, so overjoyed was he with the discovery of this interesting family tree (which he had possibly found in his own imagination before he left home) that he quite forgot to look at the lines on the north side of the monument. With more careful tests I have been induced to read this line—"Ecgfrithu," "of Ecgfrid."

Thus clouded is the origin of the version with which Mr. Haigh has ventured to honour the members of the Newcastle Society of Antiquarians. He did not give his version to the Society with a hood over his eyes, for he no sooner informed me of his intentions than I informed him of the true character of the rubbings which I had sent him. He however persisted in the correctness and accuracy of his version, *stating that he had not only inspected the monument, but made rubbings of it, and traced the letters with his finger, and thus assured himself of its accuracy.* I have also examined the monument and fingered the Runes many scores of times, and scores of times I have come to the conclusion that the decipherings were not correct on which on a former inspection I had not the least doubt or scruple. It is only by very slow steps, and by carefully examining and re-examining, that I have arrived at the conclusion that my version accords with the original. Mr. Haigh's inspection of the several parts of the monument, tracing the letters with his finger, scratching marks in the moss, and taking rubbings of them, was limited to about two hours; my examinations of the Cross have extended over twice the number of years.

I have thought it necessary to enter into these minute details, and thus to put my readers in possession of every fact and circumstance connected with this version, in order that they may have sufficient data on which to form their own judgment as to the merits of the respective readings of the inscriptions on this important Memorial.

# ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS ON CAEME CRAIG, CUMBERLAND.

The romantic rocks called Gait Crags (1), of which the Caeme Craig (2) forms a part, are situated on the margin of the river Irthing, in the parish of Lanercost. They are about two miles west from the Roman Station called Amboglanna (now Burdoswald) on the Roman Wall; and about a quarter of a mile on the south side of both wall and vallum. They are chiefly remarkable for a Roman inscription, which, as I venture to read it, may perhaps be allowed to be of some importance in the controversy respecting the authorship of the great barrier.

The Lysons, in their history of Cumberland, direct attention to this inscription, of which they offer the following reading :—

SEVERVS
AI . . . . .
V . . . . . .

They say "the name Severus may have been intended for that of the Emperor Septimius Severus, the builder of the Roman Wall, or of Alexander Severus."

Dr. Bruce, in his Roman Wall, mentions these craigs as "one of the ancient quarries from which materials were procured for building the wall," and reads the inscription thus :—

SE . . RVS
AI . . . . .
. . . VSTVS

"This (says Dr. Bruce) perhaps may be read, 'Severus Alexander Augustus, though most probably it is the work of some common soldier who panted for immortality.'" Other antiquarians have visited these craigs, and appear generally to have adopted the reading of the Lysons. Having had opportunities of inspecting this important inscription, and correcting my views of it by careful rubbings, I venture to offer a reading at variance with that given by the Lysons and Dr. Bruce. I also give a version of some other inscriptions which I have discovered on the face of these craigs. The letters appear to have been cut very deep at first, and pitted with the point of the pick, and thus some parts of the letters would probably be shallower than the others, which shallower parts have probably been obliterated by the corroding effects of time and the weather, the deeper cut parts only being left

The chief inscription consists of three lines, and I venture to suggest that it may be read thus :—

i. e., L. S (E P). S (E V) (E R) V S for LUCIUS SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS IMPERATOR AUGUSTUS. The lower part of the letter L, which in Roman inscriptions is frequently found written thus:— —for Lucius, is traceable, but the upper part is gone. The second letter is very evidently an S. The third letter has no marks on the right side of the upright stroke so as to make the letter E, as supposed by the Lysons, while the lower part of the loop of the P is distinct and pointing upwards, the top of the loop being quite gone. The lowest side-mark on the left side is also distinct (but probably only a very small part of it is left); and there is also a trace of the middle side-mark so as to make the tied-letters (E P), and thus I

(1) The name "Gait Craigs" may be derived from "Geit," pronounced "Gait," a Scandinavian proper name, which in old Norse means "a goat"; names taken from animals being common among the Northmen. The word "craig" is probably a contraction of the Celtic word "carreg," a rock.

(2) The Lysons and Dr. Bruce call this craig "Coome Crag," probably deriving it from the Anglo-Saxon word "comb," a valley; which, however, has little or no application here. I now prefer the name "Caeme Craig," the name by which it is known in the district. The Norse word "cam" signifies "a crest or ridge"; a meaning which has a special application to this rock, which juts out from the bank at right angles, and forms a well-shaped crest tapering towards the river, which flows round the extreme point of it, and returns along its western face

get the letters S (E P) for SEPTIMIUS, such tied-letters being very frequently met with in Roman inscriptions.

There appears to be room between my third and fifth letters for the letter S only, of the beginning and end of which we find traces. The letter V is as evident as any letter on the stone, although the Lysons put it in a wrong place, and Dr. Bruce omits it altogether. There are also good traces of the side-marks so as to make the tied-letters (E V). The same may be observed of the next letter, which may be read (E R). The letters V and S cannot be mistaken. Thus I get the word SEVERUS. The Lysons read the first line as Severus only, and Dr. Bruce adopts the same reading, overlooking the letter V, while the Lysons misplace the letters V and E. But the first letter V is one of the most distinct letters in the whole inscription—in fact, one of the first letters to catch the eye on the discovery of the inscription, and it is almost impossible to imagine how any mistake could have occurred respecting this letter. It is also quite evident that the space between the letters P and V is not sufficient to contain the two letters V and E separately. The only letter which is not fully traceable is the first S in the word "Severus," and that one letter is sufficient to fill up the entire space. If we suppose this line to have contained the word "Severus" only, then it must have been spelt "Seeverus" instead of "Severus"—a blunder to which it is difficult to reconcile our notions of Roman inscriptions.

In the second line the letter I is traceable, and has a pick hole near the top deeper than the other part of it. In the second letter, M, three strokes are traceable, although supposed by the Lysons and Dr. Bruce to be the letter A. The third letter is evidently a P, having the upright stroke perfect, and also the lower part of the loop, with a good trace of the remainder. There is no trace whatever of any mark on the right side of the upright stroke of this letter, either diverging at right angles from the bottom, or drooping downwards from any point higher up, so as to form the letter L in Alexander. The letter T, the left side of the O, and the terminating side of the R, are distinct enough. The marks and traces of this line are sufficient to indicate the word IMPERATOR. The face of the rock shows that there could not be space enough for the word ALEXANDER.

In the third line we find only slight and partial traces of the tied-letters (AV). The principal part of the second letter is clear, and was not an unusual form of the letter G, but reversed. The remaining letters are good. The letters in this line are much smaller than in the two preceding lines. The word is undoubtedly "Augustus."

Having thus attempted to show that the chief inscription ought to be "Lucius Septimus Severus Imperator Augustus," I shall now proceed to notice the other inscriptions on these craigs. I believe I am correct in stating that no explanation has been hitherto offered of these inscriptions, and that some of them had not been previously discovered. About fifteen inches above the "Severus" inscription are the traces of some letters—

M A T H R

which I venture to read as the word MATHERIANUS. My reason for such reading is simply this: about four yards on the south side of the "Severus" inscription, on the same face of the rock, and almost close to the ground, I found the same word in clear and perfect letters—

M A T H R I A N V S

The word is very satisfactory, and admits of no doubt, the only imperfect part being the side loops of the tied-letters (ER), of which, however, there are traces. It is probably as perfect as any Roman inscription now in existence. The face of the craig slopes inwards, and rather projects above it, and to this cause we are probably indebted for its excellent preservation. The name "Materianus" occurs in Spartian's Life of Severus, in the list of persons put to death by the Emperor soon after the accession, and hence we may infer that such a name was in use among the Romans at that time.

About five yards on the north side of the "Severus" inscription are the letters D E very well defined; and about two feet below these letters we find nearly the whole of the word AUGUSTUS, some parts of the letters being about half an inch in depth.

About a yard on the north side of the word "Augustus," are marks and traces of letters, which appear to be centurial.

and which, I think, may not improperly be read as follows, C. LAEG. VI. C., *i. e.*, Centurio legionis sextæ Centurio—a Centurion of the sixth legion. The centurial mark C, reversed, both precedes and follows the name of the legion. The reversion of the letter C is noticed by Heinesius pp. 55, 722. Instances are also given in Camden, and elsewhere. On this rock we have also examples of the reversion of the letter G.

These inscriptions, thus read, when viewed in connection with an inscription found at the distance of only a few miles, in an ancient quarry on Haltwhistle Fell, in the immediate vicinity of the wall, where the sixth legion was also recorded, raise a probability that this part of the wall was built by, or under the superintendence of, this legion; and these inscriptions, when viewed in connection with the inscription on the Gelt rocks, where reference is also made to the time of Severus, raise another and apparently a very strong probability that the wall was built by Severus. I would observe, however, that whether these craigs were actually used in building the Roman Wall, or in repairing it, or for some other purpose, must be now merely a matter of opinion.

An almost verbatim copy of the preceding Paper was sent by me to the Archæological Institute in July, 1856, and was printed in the report of the proceedings at the November monthly meeting of the Society. In that communication I made no mention of Dr. Bruce, and no allusion to his reading of the "Severus" inscription, which is the only part of the inscriptions noticed by him. The Editor of the Paper, however, unknown to me, and evidently unconscious of doing anything wrong, had attached two notes in which he merely referred to the pages in Dr. Bruce's work where the Coome Craigs were mentioned. In a paper read by Dr. Bruce before the Antiquarian Society at Newcastle, he made an attack upon the version which I had suggested, although I had cautiously abstained from making any reference to his reading, and could have given him no provocation.

His principal ground of offence appears to be that my reading has too many ligatures, and that I "squeeze" the words "Lucius Septimius Severus," into two small a space. He wishes to be very witty, and very sarcastical about these *tied letters*, and, in a strain of jocularity peculiar to certain northern Antiquarians, compares me to Claverhouse *wedging* the legs of the Moorland Covenanters into iron boots. For these *tied letters*, however, I have Camden, Horsley, and a host of others, as precedents, who have given numerous specimens of inscriptions with similar ligatures.

If I have committed an error in doing so, I may safely say to Dr. Bruce, "tu quoque." A very slight reference to his writings will show that he gives several specimens of the very same ligatures and forms of the letters. If we refer to his "Tractate," page 10, we find him speaking thus—"Horsley gives eight forms of it (the letter L), and he says expressly of the fifth, this was introduced about the time of Severus." *This is the same as the L in Lucius in my version.* Dr. Bruce also argues that when inscriptions are found, "to a large extent destitute of ligatures," the presumption is in favour of their belonging to the reign of Hadrian rather than that of Severus, so that, in his controversy with Mr. Bell, he made the use of such ligatures a *distinguishing peculiarity of the reign of Severus*, while in the Coome Craig inscription he objects to their appearance at all. It is evident, however, from his own writings, that this objection is merely a factious one, and that it will some day be set aside again by himself if the necessities of the case should require it.

Again, if we refer to Dr. Bruce's History of the "Roman Wall," second edition, we find engravings of inscriptions to Severus, and we also find the same ligatures and forms of the letters in these inscriptions. If we refer to page 337 we find an engraving of a stone found at Old Carlisle, and amongst several other ligatures we find the letters EP in the word "Septimius" tied together in the very same way as in my reading. If we look at page 155 we find another engraving of a slab found at Chesters with the words Septimius and Severus on it. This slab abounds with so many specimens of ligatures that I shall give the inscriptions in full, the *tied letters* being enclosed in brackets.

I[MP]. CAES. . . . . AVREL.
AVG. . . . . .
. . . . . BP. . COS. . . PP. . [DI]V
DIVI. S[EVE]R. [NE]P. . . . . .
CAESAR. I[MP][ER]. . . . . .
AL[AE]. II. AST[VR][VM]. . . . V. . VS[TA]T. . . .
[ER][VNT]. P[ER]. [MA]RI[VM]. [VA]L[ER]. . A.
INSTANTE. S[EP]TIMIO. NI-O. [PR]Æ. . . . .
D[ED]IC[AT][VM]. III. KAL. NO[VE]M. GRATO. [ET]. S[EL

Of this inscription Dr. Bruce offers the following version :—

"To the Emperor Marcus Aurelius
Augustus ..... Pontifex Maximus
With tribunitian power, fourth time Consul,
Father of his country, of divine
Antoninus the Son
Of the deified Severus the Grandson.....
To Cæsar our Emperor.....the duplares
Of the second wing of Astures, this temple,
through age dilapidated, restored by
command of Marius Valerianus,
Imperial Legate, and Proprætor,
Under the superintendence of Septimius
Nilus, Prefect.
Dedicated Oct. 30th in the consulate of
Gratus and Seleucus."

Thus, in the only instances which Dr. Bruce has given of inscriptions with the name of Severus, we find these ligatures occurring. We may take it for granted therefore that his objections arise not so much from a desire to arrive at the truth, the great desideratum in all antiquarian researches, as from a feeling which leads him even to set at defiance his own previous productions. If I have adopted marks in my version which are rather difficult to be perceived, I can at least say that I have not suppressed any letter which was distinct, and clearly legible, and that is more than Dr. Bruce can assert as to the reading which he gave of the inscription.

Dr. Bruce states in his Paper that his version is "substantially the same as that given in *Lysons's* Cumberland." A very brief comparison of the two readings, as I have already given them, will at once show the value of this assertion. In his first edition of the "Roman Wall" Dr. Bruce gave a reading of this inscription, *although he had never seen it.* In his second edition he offers a reading, but immediately states that it is more probably something else. After thus playing at shuttle-cock with himself, he attacks my version with as much boldness as if he had never fallen into an error, and as if he had acted in every respect in the most straightforward manner in regard to this inscription.

In another paper read before the Society Dr. Bruce again adverts to this inscription, after having visited the rocks, and, without noticing his previous omissions, offers the following amended reading—

S I I V R V S
A I I
I V S T V S

He thus converts his former letter E into an I, but omits the portion of the loop of the P which is visible, and he gives the letter V before the R which he had previously omitted. As he now gives it, it is evident that it cannot be read "Severus" only, and he does not suggest any other reading. By adopting the ligatures, however, there can be no difficulty in reading it as I have done. Dr. Bruce appears partly inclined to adopt my reading, for he concludes his observations thus :—"Granting that the inscription records the name of Severus, it does but prove that the last time that part of the quarry was used was in the days of that Emperor." He had previously told us in his "History of the Roman Wall" that the stones for building the wall were procured from this quarry. Placing these two statements therefore in juxtaposition we come to the inference that this quarry must have been used in the days of Severus for building the wall. This appears a necessary and a logical inference from the two statements.

Dr. Bruce in his second paper vilifies this inscription as *a comparatively insignificant and unimportant one—as only spreading over a space of* 16½ *inches by* 10 *inches—and as having the letters very rudely formed.* In each of these respects, however, I believe it will bear a very favourable comparison with the inscriptions on the Gelt and the chalk quarries, or with any of those inscriptions which he has honoured with an engraving in embellishing his book on the Roman Wall. They are one and all but sundry scratches upon a stone, rudely made with the point of a pick, and, as the Doctor says, from *their general shabbiness they present a poor tribute of respect to an Emperor.* This inscription, as I read it, only contains five words, and these five words occupy nearly the same space as the inscriptions to which I have already referred, and *comparatively* a much larger space. His objection therefore as to want of space is altogether groundless and absurd.

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ERRATUM.

In the first wood-cut the second S is retroverted. This is an error of the engraver, noticed only at the moment of going to press.